

11: Casagrande

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(1940) 1954

N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

International Journal of

American Linguistics

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VOLUME 20

1954

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Published at the Waverly Press, Inc.
Mt. Royal and Guilford Aves.,
Baltimore 2, Md.
by Indiana University
under the auspices of
Linguistic Society of America
American Anthropological Association
with the cooperation of
Joint Committee on American Native Languages

000 COMANCHE LINGUISTIC ACCULTURATION: I*

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1. Introduction
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128 * This is the first of three journal articles on
 Comanche Linguistic Acculturation which was
 101 prepared as a single long paper. The data on which
 114 this paper is based were collected among the Co-
 manche Indians living in or near Indianola, Okla-
 homa, in the summer of 1940 when the writer was
 one of a field party of graduate students under the
 direction of George Hersog, then of the Depart-
 ment of Anthropology at Columbia University.
 124 A vocabulary of about 3500 words and phrases was
 collected, primarily by directly eliciting Coman-
 che equivalents for English terms. James Chehab-
 115 tab, an experienced Comanche-English interpre-
 ter, was the chief informant. Additional materials
 were supplied by Herman Asenap, Robert Coffey,
 huwibitkwa, an old woman who spoke only Co-
 manche, and in varying amounts by several other
 informants. Tony Martinez, who was also fluent in
 Spanish, was an especially valuable linguistic in-
 124 formant. The vocabulary was checked by Hersog
 [126] and myself for the accuracy of both phonetic tran-
 scription and meaning. Material gotten from one
 person was checked with a different informant.

122 I am indebted, first of all, to the Social Science
 114 Research Council of Columbia University whose
 financial aid made the trip possible; to George
 Hersog, now Professor of Anthropology at In-
 diana University, for his continued interest and
 many good offices; to my colleagues in the field
 who are in a very real sense my collaborators; to
 Professors Joseph H. Greenberg, William Duncan
 Strong, Julian H. Steward, and Alfred L. Kroeber
 for their guidance and good counsel; to William
 Smalley who has generously lent both his time and
 knowledge of the Comanche language; and finally
 to my Comanche friends and informants.

12| 1. Language may be viewed both as a part of culture and as an index to culture. As a learned system of symbolic vocal skills language is a part of the social heritage comparable to the technique of making a *parfleche*, the Sun Dance, or joking with one's brother-in-law, and as such it is similarly affected by the psychological and sociological processes of culture dynamics. It follows, then, that linguistic change is an integral part of the total acculturation that occurs when cultures come into contact. These changes may range from slight to radical alterations in the form or content of a language, through the formation of various pidgin dialects or trade jargons, to the complete supersession of a language by a dominant tongue.

In its purely formal aspects, language may be considered apart from culture. It is in this sense, and because of the genetic relationship, that we say the Comanche and Shoshone speak the same language; or that the Zuni, Hopi and Keres, or the Kwakwilt, Haida and Tlingit have similar cultures yet speak different languages. But the bones of linguistic forms are covered with the flesh and blood of meaning. As a symbolic index to culture a language inevitably reflects the content of the culture it serves. Vocabulary changes go on *pari passu* with changes in the other spheres of culture: new objects and ideas, the products of acculturation, must be named if they are to be incorporated into a culture. From this point of view it seems fruitful to consider linguistic change

[12] as part of a broader process of cultural change.¹

The linguistic concomitants of acculturation have been treated by most linguists in their general texts and in articles under the rubrics of loanwords or borrowing.² For the most part their concern has been with the classical languages or those having a written tradition. Anthropological linguists have given the subject somewhat more attention in their general writings on ethnolinguistics,³ have mentioned it in passing in specialized papers on linguistics,⁴ and have contributed a number of articles on loanwords in various unwritten languages.⁵ Studies of the wider aspects of linguistic acculturation have recently appeared,⁶ and

[113] ¹Harry Hoijer, *Linguistic and Cultural Change*, Lg. 24.237 (1948).

[113] ²Leonard Bloomfield, *Language* (1933); William Graft, *Language and Languages* (1932); Edward Sapir, *Language* (1921), and *Selected Writings in Language, Personality and Culture* (Berkeley, 1960); and E. H. Sturtevant, *Linguistic Change: An Introduction to the Historical Study of Language* (Chicago, 1917).

[113] ³Harry Hoijer, *Linguistic and Cultural Change*, Lg. 24. (1948) and *The Relation of Language to Culture. Anthropology Today* (Chicago, 1953), pp. 554-73; Edward Sapir, *Selected Writings in Language, Personality and Culture* (Berkeley, 1960); Immanuel Silva-Fuensalida, *Ethnolinguistics and the Study of Culture*, AA 51.446-66 (1949); C. F. Voegelin and Z. S. Harris, *Linguistics in Ethnology*, SJA 1 no. 4 (1945), and *The Scope of Linguistics*, AA 49.586-600 (1947). See also Joseph H. Greenberg, *Linguistics and Ethnology*, SJA 4.140-47 (1948); and A. L. Kroeber, *Some Relations of Linguistics and Ethnology*, Lg. 17.287-91 (1941).

[113] ⁴For example, Leonard Bloomfield, p. 106; Trager, p. 217; Swadesh, p. 3125; and Whorf, p. 362, in Harry Hoijer and others, *Linguistic Structures of Native America*, VFFA No. 6 (New York, 1946).

⁵See references listed in the section on Loanwords.

[113] ⁶Felix Gross, *Language and Value Changes among the Arapaho*, IJAL 17.10-7 (1951); George Hersog, *Culture Change and Language: Shifts in the Pima Vocabulary*, in *Language, Culture and Personality: Essays in Memory of Edward Sapir*, pp. 66-74 (Menasha, Wisconsin, 1941); Jean B.

- [12] Weinreich has published an excellent study of bilingualism in contact situations.¹⁴ However, cultural anthropologists interested in acculturation have evinced little concern with the topic. Linton makes no mention of the role of language in his writings on acculturation.¹⁵ Herakovits' survey¹⁶ treats the matter in a programmatic fashion and stresses the need for research on pidgin and creole dialects and other sub-standard forms of speech.¹⁷ Sapir's richly loded discussion of the significance of linguistic evidence for the student of culture history and culture contact¹⁸ has to date been left unmined, even unassayed.

The aim of this paper is twofold. First, it will examine the effects of a long career of culture contact and change on the Comanche language. Second, it will attempt to show what light this linguistic evidence throws on the nature and history of that contact. As a study in ethnolinguistics it hopes to demonstrate the value of linguistic materials as an adjunct to other forms of investigation. It thus purports to be both

- [13] Johnson, A Clear Case of Linguistic Acculturation, AA 45:427-34 (1943); D. D. Lee, The Linguistic Aspects of Wintu, Acculturation, AA 46: 435-40 (1943); Robert F. Spencer, Spanish Loan-words in Keresan, SJA 3:130-46 (1947); Edward H. Spicer, Linguistic Aspects of Yaqui Acculturation, AA, 45:410-26 (1943); Zdeněk Salzmänn, Contrastive Field Experience with Language and Values of the Arapaho, IJAL 17:98-101 (1951); Paul L. Garvin, Kutenai Lexical Innovation, Word 4:120-26 (1948); and William Bright, Linguistic Innovations in Karok, IJAL 18:53-62 (1952).

- [13] ¹⁴ Uriel Weinreich, *Languages in Contact: Findings and Problems*, (New York, 1953). The book contains an extensive bibliography.

- [13] ¹⁵ Ralph Linton, *Acculturation in Seven American Indian Tribes*, (New York, 1940).

- [13] ¹⁶ M. J. Herakovits, *Acculturation*, (Augustin, New York, 1938); p. 107 ff. and p. 126.

- [13] ¹⁷ Hall's work on Haitian creole has done much to remedy this deficiency. See Robert A. Hall, Jr., *Haitian Creole: Grammar, Texts, Vocabulary*, *Memoirs AAA* 74 (1953).

- [13] ¹⁸ Edward Sapir, *Time Perspective in Aboriginal American Culture, A Study in Method*, *Memoir* 90, Canada Dept. of Mines (Ottawa, Canada, 1916).

[2] a case study of Comanche and a broader excursion into method.

128 While the acculturation vocabulary that was collected is extensive, additional textual materials and examples of day to day speech behavior collected from a representative range of unilingual and bilingual speakers would have been invaluable in establishing usages and investigating the ramifying effects of contact on Comanche. A further limitation is felt in the lack of a comprehensive treatment of Comanche grammar. If such were available, the analysis would have gained a greater measure of incisiveness.

177 2. Since their emergence and secession
178 from an early Plateau Shoshone tradition,¹⁰
175 the Comanche have undergone a 250 year
career of marked culture change and contact.¹¹ The earliest period was essentially one of cultural adjustment to a new style of life made possible by the acquisition of the horse, and culminated in the participation of the Comanche in the brief though brilliant florescence of Plains culture¹² that reached its climax in the decades spanning the year
177 1800. Thereafter the story is one of the increasing pressure of westwarding Americans

¹⁰ For a description of Basin-Plateau Shoshone culture see Julian H. Steward, Basin-Plateau Aboriginal Sociopolitical Groups, BAE-B 120 (1938); also Culture Element Distributions: XIII, Nevada Shoshone, Anthropological Records, 42 (University of California, 1941), and Culture Element Distributions XXIII, Northern and Gosiute Shoshone, Anthropological Records, 83, (University of California, 1943).

[113] ¹¹ The principle references for this chapter are Martha L. Buntin, History of the Kiowa, Comanche and Wichita Indian Agency, M.A. Thesis, Univ. of Oklahoma, Dept. of History (Norman, Okla., 1931); James Mooney, Calendar History of the Kiowa Indians, 17th Annual Report, BAE (Washington, D. C., 1896); R. N. Richardson, The Comanche Barrier to South Plains Settlement (Glendale, Calif., 1953); and A. B. Thomas, Forgotten Frontiers (Norman, Okla., 1932), also Teodoro de Croix and the Northern Frontier of New Spain 1776-1783 (Norman, Okla., 1941).

[113] ¹² Comanche Plains culture is described by Ernest Wallace and E. Adamson Hoebel in The Comanches: Lords of the South Plains (Norman,

177 and Texans pushing from the south until the Comanche were contained on the Fort Sill Reservation in 1875. The submersion of the Comanche by White culture was well under way by the latter date and progressed at an ever accelerating tempo.

175 The Comanche first loomed upon the horizon of the Spanish Southwest shortly after the turn of the eighteenth century.

[231] Their presence in New Mexico was definitely noted in 1705. They were already horse

175 Indians at this date, having gotten the horse no later than 1690-1700.¹⁴ As early as 1713¹⁴ the Comanche were in conflict with both the Spanish and the more peaceable Indian tribes of the region and had embarked upon their historic role of marauders

648 and horse thieves, striking always to the southwest. Although the province of New Mexico received the brunt of their attack, by 1758 they had destroyed a presidio in Texas and by 1776 they were crossing the Rio Grande to attack the Lipan as well as the Spanish settlements. De Croix, a Spanish general, describes the situation in his General Report of 1781 in the following terms:¹⁵

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[721] "But these injuries are not comparable to those which the Comanche inflict. The province is overrun with these Indians, now alone, or as allies of the Nations of the North; at the moment not a foot of land is free from hostility. Its fruits of the field are destroyed, cattle ranches and farms abandoned, and the settlers in terror are fleeing to the settlements, nor do they venture to leave their neighborhood without a troop escort."

[113] Okla., 1952). See also Ralph Linton in Abram Kardiner, *The Psychological Frontiers of Society* (Columbia University Press, New York 1945), and E. A. Hoebel, *The Political Organization and Law-Ways of the Comanche Indians*, *Memoirs, AAA* No. 54 (1940).

[175] ¹⁴ F. Haines, *The Northward Spread of Horses among the Plains Indians*, *AA* 40.435 (1938).

[178] ¹⁵ D. B. Shumkin, *Shoshone-Comanche Origins and Migrations*, *Proc., Sixth Pacific Science Congress*, Vol. IV: 17-25, p. 21 (1939).

[113] ¹⁶ A. B. Thomas, *Teodoro de Croix and the Northern Frontier of New Spain 1776-1783*, p. 77 (Norman, Okla., 1941).

175 This dark picture of conflict is tempered
648 somewhat by the fact that the Comanche
were admitted to the Taos fair in 1748 or
1749 and attended again in 1751¹⁴—the
documents left by the military men and
governors would tend to minimize these
more peaceable events. In 1776, Anza, the
governor of New Mexico, inaugurated a
military campaign against the Comanche
and sought them out in their own country
northeast of New Mexico. In 1779 the
Comanche received their first major defeat
at Spanish hands near what is now Pueblo,

[728] Colorado. Peace was soon established and,
after a formal treaty was negotiated in
1786, relations with the Spanish became

[439] more cordial. Comanche came to the Pueblo
of Santa Fe and Pecos in great numbers,
and Comancheros,¹⁵ as the traders from the
New Mexican settlements were known,
visited them frequently. Ugarte, Com-
mander General of the Interior Provinces
of New Spain from 1785 to 1790, suggested
as a device to foster better relations that the
children of Comanche chiefs be sent to
Mexico City to learn the Spanish language
and culture. Anza founded the village of
San Carlos de los Jupes in 1787 on the
Arkansas River in Colorado¹⁶ in an abortive
attempt to establish an agricultural colony
of Comanche. Artisans built houses and
farmers were sent to teach the Comanche to
farm, but they would not become good
Pueblo Indians and the project soon failed.
Anza's governorship marked the most
tranquil period of Comanche-Spanish rela-
tions, and after 1800 they deteriorated
rapidly.

[439] As early as 1724 a French explorer,
Bourmont, had made contact with the
Comanche in what is now Kansas. He ob-
served that they had horses which they said

[113] ¹⁴ A. B. Thomas, *The Plains Indians and New Mexico*, p. 6 (Glendale, Calif., 1940).

[113] ¹⁵ J. E. Haley, *The Comanchero Trade*, *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, 36:157-76 (1935).

[113] ¹⁶ A. B. Thomas, *San Carlos: A Comanche Pueblo on the Arkansas River, 1787*, *Colorado Magazine*, 6:79-91 (Denver, Colo., 1929).

175 had been procured from the Spanish. Peace-
648 ful trading relations were begun by the
439 Mallet brothers in 1739,¹⁹ and a lively trade
in which hides, horses and captives were
exchanged for guns, powder, balls, knives,
glass beads, mirrors, vermilion, axes, choco-
late, and the like, soon sprang up. The
Wichita and other Louisiana tribes as well
as French traders were active participants in
this commerce and contributed agricultural
products. It seems probable that the French,
in addition to supplying the Comanche with
firearms, also incited them to attack the
Spanish. The Comanche had long acted as a
buffer between the French from Louisiana
to the northeast and the Spanish to the
southwest. Indeed, Anza had hoped to
establish them as guardians of the northern
frontier in the event of French ambitions to
southwest expansion.

648 Contacts with the newly founded United
States began shortly after the Louisiana
Purchase in 1803. That year James Pursely,
[439] the first American to penetrate the new
territory, spent a season trading with the
Kiowa and Comanche,²⁰ and the first
filibusters and freebooters soon followed.
101 Catlin's visit²¹ to the Comanche with
Colonel Dodge's expedition in 1834 found
them at the height of their power—an
estimated 30,000 strong and ranging from
the Mandan villages in Dakota to the Rio
Grande and beyond. The earliest trading-
439 posts were established in 1834 and 1837
648 after Dodge's expedition had proven the
friendly disposition of the Plains tribes. The
first treaty between the United States and
the Comanche and their allied tribes was
negotiated in 1835. In 1846 the United
States government agreed to provide for
the establishment of trading houses and

¹⁹ A. B. Thomas, *The Plains Indians and New Mexico* (Glendale, Calif., 1940).

²⁰ James Mooney, *Calendar History of the Kiowa Indians*, 17th Annual Report, BAE p. 171 (Washington, D. C., 1898).

²¹ George Catlin, *Letters and Notes on the Manners, Customs and Condition of the North America Indians*, 2 vols., (London, England, 1841).

648 agencies along the frontier, and to furnish
439 blacksmiths to repair the Indians' arms and
utensils.

[657] The government early adopted the policy
of passing out gifts, later institutionalized as
annuities, at tribal gatherings when treaties
were made in futile attempts to stem the
harrowing raids of the Comanche and thus
pave the way for White encroachment. The
following is a representative list of goods
distributed at a council in 1845:²²

21 silk handkerchiefs, 3 cotton handkerchiefs,
4 cotton shawls, 8 pieces blue prints, 40½ yards
blue and red strouding, 7½ pieces blue drill, 75
pounds brass wire, 5 dozen tin pans, 13 tin buckets,
12 pounds vermilion, 12 dozen butcher knives, 1½
dozen cocoa handles, 5 dozen horn combs, 8 dozen
ivory combs, 2½ dozen files, 7½ M. brass tacks, 2
pounds linen thread, 1½ dozen fire steels, 1½ M.
needles, 1½ dozen looking glasses, 4½ pounds in-
digo and verdigris, 2½ dozen squaw hatchets, 4
dozen tin cups, 1½ dozen pair red blankets, 7½
dozen pair white blankets, 42 small bars lead, 12
large bars lead, 2 pieces unbleached domestic, 35
pounds powder.

648 Due both to impoverishment caused by
721 the rapidly dwindling buffalo herds and to
178 the pressure of White settlers, the Coman-
[136] che became increasingly restive. Raiding,
fighting with the United States Army and
Texas volunteers, and the constant making
and breaking of treaties characterized the
years up to 1875 when the Comanche
were finally rounded up and confined to
the Fort Sill Reservation along with the
Wichita, Kiowa, and Kiowa-Apache. Typical
648 of the many treaties of the time was the
657 one made at Medicine Lodge, Kansas, in
1867 when the government promised ra-
tions, an agency with a warehouse and a
resident agent, physician, teacher, carpen-
ter, blacksmith, farmer, miller, and engineer
as employees. Through the years 1854-1859
657 many of the Texas Comanche had already
been placed on a reservation where an un-
successful attempt at farming and a settled
life was made.

²² R. N. Richardson, *The Comanche Barrier to
South Plains Settlement*, p. 136 (Glendale, Calif.,
1933).

- 657 The early reservation days were largely times of turmoil and discontent. Rations were often scant and inferior, schools and hospital facilities were inadequate, and epidemics were rife. Cattle-men from Texas grazed their stock on reservation lands without payment or permission, and altercations between the Indians and U. S. troops were frequent. In 1879 the agent, Hunt, instructed that each family should be located on a piece of land on which they were to remain, and no Indian was allowed to leave the reservation without military escort—an injunction that was often disobeyed. Long before the Territory was opened to the flood of White settlers in 1901 the influx of prospectors, squatters, farmers, missionaries, traders, gamblers, liquor peddlers, adventurers, and squaw-men had begun.
- 657 Sheep were issued in 1877 and 1878, but there was no sale for the wool and, the Indians were said to have disliked them so much that the idea had to be given up.
- 241 Farming was begun in 1879, but the Indians' teams were too weak to break the heavy sod and the plowing had to be done by Whites who continued to be hired as farmers. The first houses were built in 1877 and ten years later a number of churches were erected. By 1880 the buffalo were gone and cattle had replaced them on the ranges.
- 136 "Grass money", paid by Texas cattle-men for grazing privileges, was instituted in 1885 and provided the chief source of tribal income. The Indian police were organized in 1877 and in 1886 an Indian court was established and functioned until 1900.
- 625 Earlier, in 1872, the first of a series of joint delegations of reservation Indians went to Washington.
- 648 The ratification in 1900 of the "Jerome Agreement" between the United States government and the Apache, Kiowa, and Comanche Indians marked the end of reservation life and ushered in the modern period. Under its articles the Indians ceded their claims to the land formerly known as Indian Territory except one tract called "the Big Pasture", and each man, woman,

648 and child was allotted 160 acres with sec-
 423 tions set aside for schools and public insti-
 tutions. The allotments were to be held in
 trust for 25 years after which time title was
 to go to the Indians unless the President
 extended the trust period. For relinquishing
 their rights the Indians were to receive two
 million dollars payable at some unspecified
 date in per capita payments of \$500 each
 with 5 per cent interest paid annually. The
 lands were to be free from taxation and
 could not become subject to indebtedness
 during the trust period. Thus the Comanche
 became citizens under the allotment system
 and rations were withdrawn in 1901. Since
 these allotments were widely scattered and
 interspersed with White farms, the develop-
 ment of a tribal community was largely
 precluded and the process of acculturation
 thereby hastened.

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 [657]
 [641]
 [177]
 [621]
 175 In summary, the history of Comanche
 177 contacts with Western culture shows an
 178 early period of vacillating hostile and
 friendly relations, largely tangential in
 nature, with the Spanish, French, and
 Americans which lasted until about the
 middle of the nineteenth century. That
 177 date marked the end of Comanche tribal
 178 autonomy and ushered in a period of rapid
 cultural change. Another fifty years may
 see the old Comanche culture pass into the
 legendary as it already has for most of the
 younger persons today.

197 3.0. The Comanche language is a member
 of the far-flung Uto-Astecan stock first set
 forth by Buschmann²² and further delineated
 by Kroeber,²⁴ Sapir,²⁵ and Whorf.²⁶ Sapir

[113] ²² Johann C. Buschmann, *Spuren der Aste-
 kischen Sprache im Norden, Abhandlungen der
 koeniglichen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu
 Berlin aus dem Jahre 1854* (Berlin, Germany,
 1856).

[113] ²⁴ A. L. Kroeber, *Shoshonean Dialects of Cali-
 fornia*, UCPAAE, 4:66-165 (Berkeley, Calif.,
 1907), and *Uto-Astecan Languages of Mexico*,
Ibero-Americano, No. 8 (Berkeley, Calif., 1934).

[113] ²⁵ Edward Sapir, *Southern Paiute and Nahuatl*,
 a Study in Uto-Astecan, Part I, JBP, n.s., 10:
 378-425; Part II, AA 17:96-120, 306-28 (1916), and
 continued in JBP 11:443-68 (1914), (begun in
 1913).

197 has linked Uto-Aztecan with Tanoan-Kiowa in an Aztec-Tanoan group,²⁷ and Whorf and Trager have presented evidence for a relationship between Uto-Aztecan and Tanoan.²⁸ The Voegelins have more recently designated twelve Uto-Aztecan languages, many comprising several mutually intelligible dialects, as spoken in what is now the United States.²⁹ Mexico claims a considerable number more, including Nahuatl.³⁰ These are all by no means equally distinct languages, and the actual degree of relationship among them remains to be worked out;³¹ however the affinity between Comanche and Shoshone was recognized at least as early as 1862.³² The vocabularies collected by Steward³³ for a number of Shoshone dialects show a pronounced similarity both among themselves and to Comanche. The two are essentially dialects of the same language, a fact recognized by their native speakers. As one informant put it, "The Shoshone speak as the Comanche spoke long, long ago". In

[113]

²⁷ Benjamin L. Whorf, *The Comparative Linguistics of Uto-Aztecan*, AA 37.600-08 (1935).

[113]

²⁸ Edward Sapir, *Central and North American Languages*, *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 14th Ed., 5:138-41 (London and New York, 1929).

[113]

²⁹ Benjamin L. Whorf and G. L. Trager, *The Relationship of Uto-Aztecan and Tanoan*, AA 39.609-24 (1937).

[113]

³⁰ C. F. Voegelin and E. W. Voegelin, *Map of North American Indian Languages*, Publ. of the American Ethnological Society, Publ. 20 (n.d.).

[113]

³¹ A. L. Kroeber, *Uto-Aztecan Languages of Mexico, Ibero-Americano*, No. 8, (Berkeley, Calif., 1934); and J. Alden Mason, *The Classification of the Sonoran Languages* (with an Appendix by B. L. Whorf), *Essays in Honor of Alfred Louis Kroeber*, (Berkeley, Calif., 1936).

[113]

³² C. F. Voegelin, *North American Indian Languages Still Spoken and their Genetic Relationships: Language, Culture, and Personality*, pp. 15-40 (p. 21) (Menasha, Wisconsin, 1941).

[113]

³³ Robert G. Latham, *Elements of Comparative Philology*, p. 473 (London, 1862).

³⁴ Julian H. Steward, *Basin-Plateau Aboriginal Sociopolitical Groups*, BAE-B 120, Appendix B, pp. 272 ff. (1938).

[p. 145-B]

197 another place Steward¹¹³ has suggested that, in addition to any inherent stability, the various Shoshone dialects did not diverge more rapidly because a seminomadic life kept groups in constant contact with one another. By contrast he points to the great linguistic diversity of the sedentary peoples of the Pacific Coast.

194 3.1. All stops, the affricate, and two spirants (s, h) are voiceless; other consonants are voiced. Points of articulation and consonants appearing at each are as follows: bilabial (p, v, m, w); alveolar (t, c, s, n, r); palatal (k, y); labialized palatal (k'), glottal (? , h).

[195] A rare consonantal phoneme, x or b, occurs only in baby language¹¹⁴ and in certain ejaculations. With the exception of r, a single post-alveolar flap, and a bilabial fricative, v, consonants approximate their English counterparts. Stops and affricates tend to be more strongly aspirated in medial position.

All consonants, with the exception of ? and s, and possibly v and y, occur in the cluster h plus consonant. An alternative phonemic analysis is to interpret this sequence as a distinct phoneme.¹¹⁵ This analysis would add 9 to 11 preaspirated consonants to the list of phonemes; however their distribution would be rather limited. While there would be fewer consonant clusters following this interpretation, the phonemic description would be less economical. Whether aspiration has replaced other phonemes (? or vowel) in Comanche or is the result of a phonetic drift can only be demonstrated by comparative and historical methods.

[197]

[113] ¹¹³ Julian H. Steward, Native Cultures of the Intermontane (Great Basin) Area, Smithsonian Misc. Col., 100.445-502, p. 476 (1949).

[113] ¹¹⁴ Joseph B. Casagrande, Comanche Baby Language, IJAL 14.11-4 (1948).

[113] ¹¹⁵ Venda Riggs, Alternate Phonemic Analyses of Comanche, IJAL 15.229-31 (1949) discusses the alternative solutions. Benjamin L. Whorf, p. 100, in Harry Hoijer and others, Linguistic Structures of Native America, VFPA No. 6, (New York, 1946), uses this analysis for Hopi.

194 The absence of a pattern of contrasting voiced and unvoiced phonemes (b-p, d-t) allows for a degree of latitude in pronunciation: d' and g' commonly occur as idiolectal variants of y and k' respectively. Voiced consonants tend to assimilate to their phonetic environment. They become voiceless or only weakly voiced before voiceless vowels, weakly voiced following h (or aspiration), and fully voiced elsewhere.

194 In this paper Comanche is written as it is spoken in deliberate speech. In ordinary conversation there is slurring, more elision, omission of final voiceless vowels, etc."

[128] 194 All consonants except v and r occur in utterance initial position. The consonants v and r are defective in that they never occur in utterance initial position or after a pause in speaking. Further, they may alternate morphophonemically with p and t respectively at morpheme and word boundaries, although the conditions of alternation are not always phonologically determined; e.g., pa'ka arrow—nava'ka bullet (its arrow); tivo'pI paper—nirivo'pI my paper. t, but not p, always occurs after i.

All consonants occur in utterance medial position.

Only ? and h occur in utterance final, although in normal speech utterance final whispered vowels (see below) are often lazily pronounced and indicated only by the slightest movement of the speaker's lips, or they may be entirely omitted. In such instances the terminal phoneme is then heard as a consonant. Final I in such a word as tihkapI food, is often heard as simple aspiration. Also, other consonants may occur finally in loanwords: waikin wagon (English); however there is a tendency for loanwords to conform to the Comanche pattern and acquire a final whispered vowel, e.g., papa'al potatoes (Spanish, papas).

Consonant clusters are intersyllabic and

[113] "Julian H. Steward, Basin-Plateau Aboriginal Sociopolitical Groups, BAE-B, 120, p. 273 (1938); and D. B. Shimkin, Shoshone I: Linguistic Sketch and Text, IJAL 15.175-88, p. 175 (1949), note similar speed effects in Shoshone.

194 few in number. With a very few exceptions, chiefly in loanwords, there are no clusters of more than two consonants. Except where vowels are elided, and in a number of English loanwords, only the clusters *h* plus consonant and *ʔ* plus consonant, and, more rarely, *h* plus *n*, appear. Examples are: *puhaknI* or *puhakhnI* *church* (*puha* *super-natural power*, plus *kahnI* *house*; *tu'reʔ* *rubber*; *tehnseʔ* *ten cents* (English). The seeming cluster *k* or *kʰ* plus consonant is common; however in every instance noted a medial vowel had been elided: *ʔeka-* *red*, plus *sikweʔ* *half*, gives *ʔeksikweʔ* *red half*, or *old style blanket*.

194 3.2. Vowels are unrounded in front position and rounded in back position (with *i* and *u* closer than *e* and *o*, respectively), and mixed in central position (mid close *i* and low open *a*). These six vowels also appear long (*iː* and *uː*, *eː* and *oː*, *iː* and *aː*); also whispered (*I* and *U*, *E* and *O*, *Y* and *A*); rarely nasalized as in the morpheme, *haː* *yes*.

The vowel *i* approximates the vowels in English "look" and "luck". All vowels, lacking closely contrasting phonemes, vary somewhat from high to low: e.g., *o* may approach *ɔ*, or *e* approach *ə*, etc. Whispered and long vowels, which could also be described as clusters of two identical vowels, are of the same quality as their voiced short counterparts.

No vowels occur in utterance initial; and all vowels occur in utterance medial. Only long vowels, clusters, and whispered vowels occur in utterance final; however there is a tendency for most speakers to close an utterance ending in a long vowel or a cluster with a glottal stop or aspiration. An echo vowel is sometimes heard after a glottal stop: *-aʔ(A)*.

Short morpheme final vowels become voiceless in utterance final position, e.g., *ʔe-koniː* *tongues*, and *ʔe-kO* *tongue*. They also tend to assimilate to a preceding consonant, or to be replaced by simple aspiration. In utterance medial position

194 whispered vowels may be neutralized to I, or elided. In the latter case its length may be retained in a pulse. When a long vowel loses its accent, or when a following voiceless vowel becomes voiced, it often loses a mora; e.g., pu'kU *horse*, navukuwá' *automobile* (without its horse); ticipOsa' or ticipIsa' *nut, bolt, screw*.

[192] Only voiced vowels occur in clusters. The following have been noted: ia, iā, ie, ii, ai, oa, uā, ui, and ue. Examples are: pia- *big*; mia *moon*; tie- *little*; ?ivū' *mole*; haicI *friend*; coapI *shoulder*; suavE *cross*; pui *eye*; wihtue *bucket* (objective). -n'e-, -o'i-, and -u'e- are frequently pronounced as clusters in rapid speech; e.g., no'i *egg* becomes noini' *eggs*.

[104] Stress most frequently falls on the first syllable. When it does it will not be marked in this paper. An apparent exception to the rule that stress tends to fall on one of the first three syllables of a word is to be found in a long list of names of plants and animals and a few inanimate objects.³³ These words are polysyllabic and end with a stressed long vowel plus ?. By analogy the names of many new traits are fitted into this pattern. Examples are: pohkó' *burrowing owl*; ?a'ahká' *banana*; wa'rokiyá' *pliers* or *crayfish*. A secondary stress may occur on the first syllable of both these and other long words.

[196] Subject to the qualifications noted above in discussing the distribution of various phonemes, the syllabic pattern is the sequence CV or CVC. The vowel may be long, short, whispered, or a cluster. Other prosodic features such as tone or phrase and sentence melody, except for a few expletives, seem to be only idiosyncratically meaningful.

193 3.3. Prefixation even including prefixed clitics, while of less importance morphologically in Comanche than suffixation, is highly productive of neologisms and bulks large in the acculturation vocabulary.

[113] ³³ William S. Smalley, *Phonemic Rhythm in Comanche*, IJAL 19:297-301 (1953).

[p. 147-B]

- 193 Derivational prefixes include a set of instru-
mentals, a reflexive, na-, and an intransi-
196 tivizer, ti-.

Instrumentals are: pi⁹ with the buttocks, behind, or referring to the buttocks or rear (similarly for the others); ta⁹ with the foot or leg; to⁹ with the fist, or violent movement of the hands, also with the hoof; ki⁹ with the teeth, or scissors (extended meaning); ku⁹ by heat; ca⁹ by force, usually with the hands; direction towards the body or upwards; ci⁹ with a pointed object (knife, penis, stick), direction away from the body; co⁹ with the head; ma⁹ with the hand, pertaining to the hand; mu⁹ with the nose or mouth; si⁹ with the feet, by paddling; wi⁹ with the body, movement sideways; ki⁹ with the elbow; hu⁹ with the back.

Examples: mu⁹nua⁹, hog, (mu⁹ + nua⁹ move); ma⁹nua⁹ checkers, chess, dominoes; tahpu⁹ni to test with the foot, or to try on shoes, (tah- plus pu⁹ni to see), similarly, kihpu⁹ni taste, and for the others.

The prefix, na-, when reduplicated, has reciprocal meaning: navuni⁹ mirror (na- plus pu⁹ni to see, plus -⁹, nominalizer); nanavuni⁹ window (to see each other). With either reflexive force or meaning part of, its, na- is commonly affixed to words for parts of a saddle, automobile, wagon, etc.¹⁰ navukuwá⁹a/nakhní auto body (auto's house), navukuwá⁹a/nava gasoline (auto's water), navukuwá⁹a/na⁹o:mO wheel (auto's leg), navukuwá⁹a/narhoveño:ki⁹ brake (auto's loaded on the hind legs).

The prefix ti- seems affixed to verbal stems or roots, with or without a subjectivizer, to intransitivize a verb or to make the meaning more general: tinua⁹ broom (ti- plus nua⁹ to move); tima⁹cune⁹ file (ti- plus ma⁹cune⁹ to rub with the hand).

[194] ¹⁰h may alternate with > for these instrumentals.

[197] ¹¹ Similarly for Pima, George Hersog, Culture Change and Language: Shifts in the Pima Vocabulary, in Language, Culture and Personality: Essays in Memory of Edward Sapir, pp. 66-74, (p. 68) (Menasha, Wisconsin, 1941).

193 3.4. Infixation, if indeed it may be so
194 interpreted, is the least productive form of
193 affixation. In an arbitrary class of stems the
194 infix, -V-, indicating the morphophonemic
196 lengthening of a vowel, signifies the im-
perative;⁴ e.g., hivi'pI drunkard, hi-vI
drink!; cihima to pick up with a stick and
cihi'mA, imperative form. But the follow-
ing imperative forms also occur: nohi? toy
and nohI play!; kupita? flashlight and
kupItA light the fire! The singular imperative
is phonetically the most economical form a
root can take. All the above examples can
also be interpreted as the phonetically
mechanical results of an inflectional verbal
suffix, -minus V (voicing of final vowel),
used to indicate the imperative.

193 3.5. Suffixation is the most productive
196 form of affixation. Derivational suffixes
include the nominalizers, -pI and -ʔ, which
make nouns of verbal roots. These forms are
highly productive of new word formations
in Comanche and figure importantly in the
names of new cultural acquisitions: tihka
eat plus -ʔ gives tihkaʔ fork; nohko bake
plus -pI gives nohkopI bread, baked goods.

[196] There is also a series of derivational
classificatory suffixes which make nouns of
bound qualitative roots: hu- wood, tree +
-pI gives hu'pI tree; mu- nose + -pI gives
mu'pI nose; pia- big + -pI gives piapI
big one; ʔeka- red + -vI(tI) gives ʔekavItI
red one; yiva- autumn + -cI(?) gives yiva-
ci? autumn grapes. That these are deri-
vational is shown by the fact that they are
lost when combining with other stems; e.g.,
hu'ku'nA matches (wood fire); ʔekhas-ʔ dye
(red boiled).

193 Inflectional suffixes may be either verbal
196 or nominal. They are numerous and convey

[113] ⁴ Henry Osborn and William A. Smalley, For-
mulae for Comanche Stem Formation, IJAL 15,
93-9, p. 94 (1940). The treatment of Comanche
morphology in this paper, while approached dif-
ferently, owes much to this pioneer statement. See
also D. B. Shimkin, Shoshone II: Morpheme List,
IJAL, 15.308-12 (1940), for a sketch of the closely
related Shoshone language.

193 a wide range of meaning. All verbal in-
 196 flections are formed by suffixation. Among
 those productive of new words are: -ki
 193 benefactive or causative; navi'aiki? *rocking-*
 196 *chair* (na- reflexive + pi? with the buttocks
 + ?ai go, lope + -ki + -? nominalizer).
 192 -?e habitual; nimivó-?e-tí camera (nimi- 1st
 per. plural + -i objectifier + po? draw +
 -?e + -V plural + -tí nominalizer). Other
 193 verbal suffixes indicate mode, tense and
 196 aspect. The following are rather tentative
 examples: -ma completive; -kwa motion
 away; -?tu?i future (in positive statements);
 -wa?i future (in negative statements); -?i
 past, semelfactive; -yU past, durative (?);
 -nA continuative (?); -kI imperative, plural;
 -yu verbalizer, with substantive stems; -br (?).

Nominal inflectional suffixes convey such
 things as number, case (objective, subjective
 genitive), and nominalization: -tí nominali-
 zer; -ní plural; -V plural; -?a genitive; -kwí
 dual; -bí dual (on proclitic pronominals);
 -ha objective; -hta objective; -i objective.

193 3.6. Enclisis: Morphologically enclisis
 may be considered as a special type of
 affixation. Clitics are phonologically bound
 to words, normally unstressed, and, al-
 though they stand after any inflection on
 the stem (enclitic position), they may
 themselves be inflected (proclitic position).

[194] Clitics may be either bound, that is ap-
 pended to a stem and never uttered in iso-
 lation, or free. Examples of bound clitics
 are: -ca? declarative; huhcu-ca?/toyava?aiiki/
 yici?I that bird flew over the mountain
 (huhcu bird + -ca?); -se? narrative (in
 myths and stories); -ha? interrogative;
 -ci? or -si? diminutive, etc. Free clitics may
 function morphologically as either clitics
 or as stems (see below). Prepositional,
 locative, pronominal, numerative, demon-
 strative, and other notions are expressed
 by clitics.

193 -3.7. A paradigm of pronominal and
 196 demonstrative affixes which function as
 clitics is given below:

193 196	Person	Singular		Dual	Plural
		1st	2nd		
	possessive	ni-	exclusive	nih-	nih-
	or objective	-ni	inclusive	-ni	-ni
	subjective	-ni	inclusive	-ni	-ni
	2nd	ni-	exclusive	-ni	-ni
	3rd	ni-	exclusive	-ni	-ni
	visible	ni-	exclusive	-ni	-ni
	invisible	ni-	exclusive	-ni	-ni
	close	ni-	exclusive	-ni	-ni
	distant	ni-	exclusive	-ni	-ni
	very own	ni-	exclusive	-ni	-ni

Duality is expressed by the nominal suffixes, -hi and kwI, for the 1st and 2nd persons: pihikanikI?urikwI *they* (dual, invisible) *are at their own house* (pi- + -hi + kahnI *house* + kI *at*, in + ?uri + -kwI). For the 3rd person demonstratives duality seems to be expressed by an infixed h; however it is probably the result of reduction and assimilation: ?u-, 3rd person invisible, plus -ti, nominalizer, plus -hi, dual, gives ?ur(s)hi. Inflection for plurality, except for the 1st person exclusive, is accomplished with the pluralizer, -V.

As proclitics these affixes function as possessives, or, plus an inflectional suffix, -i, in the non-singular, as objectives. If any word precedes the verb in the sentence, the pronoun subject is generally enclitic to that word. In clitic form they are unstressed. In objective pronominals, where the suffix -i is added, phonetic assimilation may occur: mihi- + -i + pu'ni *see* + -ni? gives mihi-vu'ni? *I see you two*. Assimilation and reduction with -i also occurs in other stems; sonipInI? *grass* + -i gives sonipInI? *grass* (obj.).

When inflected with nominal suffixes these pronominal forms may stand as free stressed words: ni- + -ni, plural, gives ninI *we* (exclusive). Both demonstratives and non-demonstratives may cluster with other clitics to constitute a free stressed word: ni?u? *it is I*; ?onai *from there*; ?inai *from*

193 here; ?inakwi?u? it is on this side (?i- +
[196] nakwi? side, direction + ?u?).

3.8. Compounding is a morphological process defined as the juxtaposition of roots and/or stems to form new stems. These new compound stems may be inflected or stand as free words. Compounds may be composed of from two to four roots: 193
196 ?ekahpa- soda water (red plus water); tu'ku'uA coal (black plus fire); pawovivu-kU boat (water plus board plus horse); piaro-sawovikni big white wooden house. Examples of compounds composed of root plus stem are: wanaciya-? flag (wana- cloth + ci- with a stick, an instrumental prefix + ya- hold up + -? nominalizer); pihna-nohkopI cake, cookies (pihna- sweet + nohko bake + -pi nominalizer).

193 Among the most productive of compounded acculturation terms are a series of qualitative roots or stems (see the discussion of stem types below). These invariably precede noun stems in a compound. They are grouped below according to their syntactic position relative to each other:

193 I
196 pia- big
pie- old, former
tie- little
ke- negative

II
?isa- false, deceitful
hu- wood
ca- good, fine
so- many
yu- common, ordinary

III
?eka- red
?evi- blue, green
?esi- grey, dull
?eco- light in color
?oha- yellow
?oti- brown
tu- black
toea- white

193 Bound particle stems also function in
 compounding:

196 -wahtI without (-wah + -tI, nominalizer),
 noyowahtI without testicles—a personal
 name; navukuwá? automobile (na-, re-
 flexive + pu:kU horse + -wahtI without.
 The ending presumably represents reduc-
 tion to a syllabic pattern common for many
 plant and animal names—see 3.2).

-katI possessor of (-ka + -tI, nominalizer),
 puhakatI medicine-man (puha supernatural
 power + -katI). Both of the above are
 commonly used in personal and animal
 names.

193 3.9. Reduplication, a very important
 technique in many Uto-Aztecan languages
 196 such as Pima, seems in Comanche to be
 restricted to the inflection for the dual and
 plural forms of qualitative stems and a
 limited group of kinship and status terms.
 There are several patterns of reduplication:
 C₁V₁C₂ becomes C₁V₁C₁V₁C₂ or C₁V₁hC₁V₁C₂:
 ?ekavI- red, becomes ?e?ekavIti-ca? the red
 one; and titatI little one, becomes tititita-
 tini? little ones. C₁V₁V₂C₂V₂ becomes
 C₁V₁C₁V₁V₂C₂V₂: catietI favorite child,
 becomes catirietini? favorite children, and
 piava? lake, becomes piviava-ni? lakes.
 And C₁V₁hC₂ apparently becomes C₁V₁hC₁-
 V₁hC₂: tahka? sibling, becomes tahtahkani-
 siblings.

It also seems possible that reduplication
 may be used with certain verb stems to
 convey an iterative meaning: ?ekayiyika?
 jelly, jam, jello (?eka- red + yika to shake
 (?) + -?, nominalizer).

193 A somewhat anomalous form occurs in
 196 some ejaculations ?iriririri? I'm, or it's so
 195 hot!. Reduplication also figures importantly
 in the rather extensive vocabulary of baby
 words:^a papá? water; pepé? ball; and
 tatá? food.

193 3.10. A number of stem classes may be
 distinguished according to their distribu-
 tion in relation to affixes and other stems,
 and, to a limited degree, by their meaning.

^a Joseph B. Casagrande, *Comanche Baby Lan-
 guage*, I JAL 14:11-4 (1948).

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The major stem classes and some of their characteristics follow:

Verb stems (appear with a series of verbal inflectional suffixes).

Noun stems (appear with a series of nominal inflectional suffixes; may stand as uninflected words).

Qualitative stems (reduplicated for non-singular; before classificatory derivational suffixes which are lost in composition; before the verbalizing suffix, -yu; and precede verbal or nominal stems in compounds).

Clitic stems, including pronominal stems (may combine with demonstrative and non-demonstrative pronouns to constitute a free form with one stress: *ni'u?* *it is I*; **inakwi'u?* *it is on this side* [**i-*, 3rd per. sing. close, plus *nakwI*, *direction, side*, + *-u?*, 3rd per. sing. invisible]; **ikI'si?* *it is right here* [**i-* + *kI* *in or at* + *-si?*, 3rd per. emphatic]).

3.11. Words have as a rule only one major stress, but may also be recognized by their morphological context and speech pause. They may be either particles or inflected or free roots and stems. Words may also be classed according to their syntactic

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position, and, if inflected, partially by their final affix, as verbs, nouns, verbal nouns, and particles. Verbs may take subject or object, but may not be subject or object. Nouns may be subject or object, and they may also take a subject. Verbal nouns may be subject or object and may take subject and object. Particles may not be or take subjects or objects: *hā* 'yes'; *ʔanā* 'ouch!', etc.

3.12. Comanche makes good use of sentence-words which may or may not include a verbal stem: *nanapīwahtī nī*? *I am shoeless* (*nanapī* shoe + *-wahtī* without + -V, plural + *nī*?, 1st per. sing. subject); *simīma*? *it is one*, (*si-mī* one, plus *ma*?); *mīaru nī*? *I will leave* (*mīa* go + *-tu*?, future + *-nī*?). Descriptive phrases conveying a unit meaning are also common and are important in naming the new: *mīaca*?/ *riyaipī* (*it is an eclipse* (*mīa* moon + *-ca*?, declarative, and *tiyaipī* dead).

The basic word order seems to be subject, object, verb. This pattern can, of course, be greatly amplified by the parenthetical apposition of additional words.⁴

⁴ For examples see Henry Osborn and William A. Smalley, *Formulae for Comanche Stem Formation*, IJAL 15.93-9, p. 98-9 (1949).

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[pp. 152-216 not processed]

000 COMANCHE LINGUISTIC ACCULTURATION II*

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4. Acculturation vocabulary
- 4.1. Extension of old meanings
- 4.2. New coinages
- 4.3. New descriptive formatives
- 4.4. Circumlocutions
- 4.5. Loan words
- 4.6. Translation-borrowing

121 4. Linguistic change may occur in all the various aspects of language: phonology, grammar, vocabulary, and style. However, modifications in the highly systematic aspects, phonology and grammar, appear to progress at a slower rate, and while changes in these realms of language may be accelerated or even initiated by culture contact, they seem to result primarily from relatively autonomous linguistic drifts.⁴ Stylistic changes, in so far as they are general within a speech community, may be likened to other changes in the domain of fashion. Semantic changes, on the other hand, are more directly attributable to changes in the other spheres of culture, whether due to internal or external stimuli. While cultural change is a continuing process, it is frequently accelerated by the contact of cultures through diffusion and acculturation, and the vocabulary is that aspect of language which most sensitively registers these changes. In this section we shall examine those new additions to the Comanche vocabulary stemming from culturally external sources.

Of the different forms of speech nominal forms are the most freely added, although where there has been long and intimate

* For Comanche Acculturation I see IJAL 20.140-51.

⁴ Edward Sapir, *Language*, pp. 157-182 (New York, 1921).

[12] contact, as between Spanish and Nahuatl,⁴⁴ other forms may also be adopted. There is also evidence that phonetic and morphological shifts may occur under these conditions,⁴⁵ especially if a high degree of bilingualism is operative. Boas has argued for the diffusion of phonetic and morphological traits from one language to another,⁴⁶ and suggests that historical factors may account for the presence of instrumental prefixes in Shoshonean, Kutenai, and Sioux.

[12] There are four principal means by which
 [197] a language may enlarge its vocabulary to
 [192] accommodate new objects and ideas. These neologistic devices will be discussed in detail for Comanche under the following headings: the extension of old meanings; the coining of new words; the borrowing of loanwords from other languages; translation-borrowing. Since the first two methods, as compared with the taking of loan-words and translation-borrowing, make use of only native linguistic resources and may potentially be used in the earliest stages of linguistic adjustment to culture contact, we may refer to their use as PRIMARY ACCOMMODATION. The use of loanwords and loan-translation, on the other hand, requires some knowledge of the language of the impinging culture and usually implies a more intense form of contact which Bloomfield has called "intimate borrowing".⁴⁸

[113] ⁴⁴ Frans Boas, *Spanish Elements in Modern Nahuatl*, Todd Memorial Volumes: Philological Studies, Vol. I (New York, 1930).

⁴⁵ Harry Hoijer, *Linguistic and Cultural Change*, *Lg.* 24: 335-345, p. 342 ff. (1948); and Jean B. Johnson, *A Clear Case of Linguistic Acculturation*, *AA* 46: 427-434 (1943).

[113] ⁴⁶ Frans Boas, *The Classification of American Indian Languages*, *AA* 22: 367-376 (1920).

⁴⁸ Leonard Bloomfield, *Language*, Chapter 26 (Holt, New York; 1933).

121 We may correspondingly refer to the use of
 197 these techniques as SECONDARY LINGUISTIC
 ACCOMMODATION.

192 A language may use predominantly one
 method throughout its career of change,
 alternate at different times in its history,⁴⁰
 or utilise two or more methods simultane-
 ously. Comanche, along with many other
 languages, has used all four devices, although
 to greatly differing degrees. The reasons for
 these alternative solutions are to be sought
 in the nature and history of the culture
 contacts, in what Sapir calls "the psycho-
 logical attitude of the borrowing language",⁴¹
 and in cultural factors related to fashion
 and style. These will be discussed in more
 detail below following the section on the
 coining of new words.

4.1. The extension of the meanings of
 words already present in a language to
 cover new cultural acquisitions is a common
 device in all languages, and operates not
 only during periods of rapid cultural change,
 but as a normal semantic process. It is the
 means whereby language keeps up to date
 with culture; the meaning of bomb in 1954
 is rather different from its meaning in 1914.
 While shifts in meaning may also be said to
 occur in new descriptive formations, it will
 be used here to apply only in those instances
 in which the meanings of words of estab-
 192 lished usage are broadened. In Comanche
 197 these words comprise about 30 per cent of
 the total acculturation vocabulary.

⁴⁰ This was the case with Pima where the first
 additions, due to the intense contacts with the
 Spanish through colonisation and the missions,
 were Spanish loanwords. Then came an interme-
 diate period of early reservation life, initiated by
 the American occupation, when most of the new
 words were Pima descriptive formations. And,
 lastly, came the modern reservation period when
 loanwords chiefly from English were adopted.
 George Hersog, *Culture Change and Language:
 Shifts in the Pima Vocabulary, in Language, Cul-
 ture and Personality; Essays in Memory of Ed-
 ward Sapir*, pp. 66-74, (Menasha, Wisconsin: 1941).

⁴¹ Edward Sapir, *Language*, p. 208 ff. (New
 York, 1921).

192 While we shall discuss primarily terms
 197 for the products of White culture, extensions
 of meanings, as well as the other neologistic
 devices mentioned above, were likewise
 employed during the shift of Comanche
 culture from a Basin-Plateau Shoshonean
 to a Plains type. In fact, a number of terms
 have undergone two distinct permutations
 of meaning: *wosA* in Shoshone¹¹ refers to a
 conical carrying or seed basket, the Co-
 manche extended its meaning to *parfêche*,
 and today it refers to a box, pocket, con-
 tainer, or luggage. Similarly, *kahnI* was used
 for a brush-covered hut, then a tipi, and now
 a modern house. In most Basin-Plateau
 dialects deer is *tuhuya* or some related
 form,¹² while in Comanche *tih'yA*, the
 cognate form, was extended to mean horse,
 and another word, *?arika?* (possibly *?a-*
horn + tihka? meat or food), was coined for
 deer. Further, a number of newly intro-
 duced traits seem to have closer analogues
 in the old Shoshone rather than in Plains
 culture: *wihtua* bucket—Sho. *pottery bowl*,¹³
?a-wO cup, dish, drinking glass—Sho.
basketry bowl.¹⁴

The extension of meaning depends upon
 the recognition of some resemblance be-
 tween the new products of the alien culture
 and objects and ideas present in the native
 culture. The old and the new are equated
 on the basis of form, function, and symbolic
 meaning. Any or all of these three aspects

¹¹ Julian H. Steward, *Culture Element Dis-
 tributions: XIII, Nevada Shoshone*, *Anthropo-
 logical Records*, 4:2, p. 239 (University of Cali-
 fornia, 1941).

¹² Julian H. Steward, *Basin-Plateau Aboriginal
 Sociopolitical Groups*, BAE-B 120, Appendix
 B, *Vocabularies*, pp. 272-283 (1938). Robert G.
 Lathan, *Elements of Comparative Philology* (Lon-
 don, 1962) gives *tebeyer* for horse.

¹³ Julian H. Steward, *Culture Element Dis-
 tributions: XXIII, Northern and Gosiute Sho-
 shone*, *Anthropological Records*, 8: 3, p. 375
 (University of California, 1943).

¹⁴ Julian H. Steward, *Culture Element Dis-
 tributions: XIII, Nevada Shoshone*, *Anthropo-
 logical Records*, 4: 2, p. 241 (University of Cali-
 fornia, 1941).

197 may be utilised; however, as form is the
 192 most palpable aspect of a culture trait,
 formal equations have most frequently been
 made by the Comanche. Moreover, most
 Comanche extensions of meaning are in the
 realm of material culture where form is
 readily apparent. Extension of meaning is
 the method commonly used in naming new
 borrowings where there was an easily
 197 recognizable native analogus. The same has
 been true for other American Indian lan-
 guages, including those of the Wintu¹¹ and
 the Hupa. The latter called wheat flour by
 the same term as acorn flour, and potatoes
 after native bulbs.¹²

197 Naming equations solely on the basis of
 192 function and symbolic meaning regardless
 of differences in form are comparatively few
 in Comanche. The following may be cited
 as examples:¹³ *#pia*etl gun (big bow);
 *ta'vE clock, time of day (sun compare
 ta'venitl day); *#nava:kA bullet, lead
 (its arrow).

A further example is the extension in
 meaning of the word puha supernatural
 power in the following: piavuharavenitl
 4th of July (big puha day); *puharivo?
 doctor, minister, Christian (puha white man);
 puharavenitl Sunday (puha day); puha-
 rekIraivo? minister (puha talk while man);
 puharivo:pl Bible (puha book, writing);
 *puhabuvia hymn (puha song); puhaknl¹⁴

[113] ¹¹ D. D. Lee, The Linguistic Aspects of Wintu.
 Acculturation, AA 45: 435-440 pp. 435 ff. (1943).

[113] ¹² H. G. Barnett, Culture Processes, AA 42:
 21-48, p. 32 (1940).

[128] ¹³ Word lists will be given in the following al-
 phabetical order: ? , a, e, i, l, o, u, p(v), t(r), k,
 kw, c, s, h, m, n, w, y.

[104] ¹⁴ Words marked with an asterisk appear in the
 Comanche vocabulary collected by Charles De-
 trich at Fort Sill, Oklahoma in 1895. Those marked
 s appear in Randolph C. Marry, Exploration of
 the Red River of Louisiana in the year 1851, 32d
 Congress, 2d Session, (Washington, D. C.; 1853).

¹⁵ This same word was used by the Fort Hall
 Shoshone for a small structure used by the shaman
 in curing; Julian H. Steward, Culture Element
 Distributions: XXIII, Northern and Gosiute
 Shoshone, Anthropological Records, 8: 3, p. 273
 (University of California, 1943). It was also used

- 197 church (puha house); suavevuharaivo?
 Catholic (cross puha while man); tamavu-
 192 haraivo? dentist (tooth puha while man).

In similar fashion ?aca?vi, *supernatural*; guardian spirit, has been extended to include Holy Spirit, and miracle

The use of puha with reference to both religion and doctoring possibly reflects the fusion of these two offices in aboriginal Comanche culture,⁴⁰ or at least a similar attitude towards both the religious and the healer.

- 192 A representative list of words with extended meanings is given below.⁴¹ The
 [128] analogies are based chiefly on partial or
 [197] more nearly complete equations of form, and frequently also of function. In many cases the original referent of the word is obsolete or obsolescent, as with the terms *wosA and *wihtua cited above, and today the new meaning is the primary one: ?ekahkwihce?E electricity (lightning [red flashing, or cracking like a whip]); ?ehkwe?ne? butcher knife (sway-backed [related to ?ehkwe?ne?i a swaybacked person]); *?eksa? dye of any color, vermilion (red boiled); ?ohahkuya? king (playing cards) (yellow carried on the head [Eagle down feathers dyed yellow were worn in the hair by members of the tanisint band.]); ?ona?vi salt in any form (salt); ?oyo?ri belongings, goods, wealth (belongings); *paraivo? boss, leader, head (so-called peace chief);⁴² paco?E fresh beef (wet); *pahmU tobacco in any form (tobacco)

by a Nevada group for a small enclosure figuring in a magical ceremony for antelope hunting; Julian H. Steward, Culture Element Distributions: XIII, Nevada Shoshone, Anthropological Records, 4: 2, p. 219 (University of California, 1941).

⁴⁰ This was apparently the case for Shoshone culture; Julian H. Steward, Culture Element Distributions: XXIII, Northern and Gosiute Shoshone, Anthropological Records, 8: 3, pp. 281-287 (University of California, 1943).

⁴¹ Not all the vocabulary collected appears in the various word lists; however a large and representative cross-section is given.

⁴² See E. A. Hoebel, The Political Organization and Law-Ways of the Comanche Indians, MAAA No. 64, pp. 18-20 (1940).

- 192 *pihna? *sugar, candy (sweet)*;¹¹³ *pihci?nia? *straight pin (related to pihciñiarA a person with wide, fat buttocks. Pin so called because of butt end)*; *pisapI *paint, rouge, powder, compact (paint, chiefly ochres)*; pisipl *venereal disease (gangrene, any pussy infection, rotten flesh)*; pima?nika? *menstrual napkin (push into the buttocks with the hand [formerly used old buffalo robes])*; pokopI *candy, nuts, berries, fruit, etc. (edible part of plant)*; *pu-kU *horse (singular only) (pet)*;¹¹⁴ *pu?E *road (trail, path)*; *puhiwI *money, dollar, iron, metal (metal, ore)*; *tahka?micA *cucumber, "blueballs", a venereal disease (gland [at groin])*; tanesi? *king (playing cards), fetlock, also a decoration hanging from knee on dress leggings*; *tirani? *hammer, sledge (hammer [ta'mI conquer!, imperative])*; ticiwai? *ramrod (a probe [especially for marrow])*; *ti-hka?a? *hatchet, axe (hatchet)*; *timuhkU *cord, rope; reins (cording [narimuhkU harness, reins, its rope])*; ti-wai? *solitaire (card game) (to drive game [as from bushes with a stick])*; *to?I *tobacco pipe (pipe)*; *tu?re? *rubber, elastic (leech)*; kahpE *bed (bed)*; ki-ka *onion (wild onion)*; kimina- *break (a limb) with machinery or automobile; also, as formerly, to break with the teeth*; korohkO *scarf, cravat, yoke, collar (neckpiece)*; kohe-a-pl *pudding, mush, gravy, fruit jam, etc. (esp., mesquite bean mush [kohe-a: to stir])*; kohinehki *belt (ash with long tassel)*; kupIta? *electric light, flashlight (kupIta-light the fire)*; kwamu? *shirt, dress (dress of deer or antelope skins)*; kwitacl *scavage (big intestine)*; kwinumapl *drunk (dizzy)*; cahani- *drive (horse or automobile); straight-*

[113] ¹¹³ Marcy gives melon as the meaning in 1851. The same word, written *pei-n-hH'*, appearing in Kiowa is translated as "honey, sugar, anything sweet"; John P. Harrington, *Vocabulary of the Kiowa Language*, BAE-B 84 (Washington, D. C.; 1928). Possibly both are loanwords from *panocha*, a coarse Mexican sugar.

[114] ¹¹⁴ Also in Albert Gallatin, *A Synopsis of the Indian Tribes North of Mexico*, Trans. & Coll. of the Amer. Antiquarian Society, Vol. II, (Cambridge, Massachusetts; 1836), written, *bunke*.

192 *ten*, as clothes; *cohpe* pillow (*headrest*, *head of bed*); **comO* beads (*bone beads*); *savah-paki?* drum (*drum* [Detrich gives *waw vee wihk* to *ow*, *wovihiwtua* *wood bucket*]); *sanahpI* glue, paste (*pitch*); *sanahkó?* chewing-gum (*slippery elm bark* which was chewed); **sohovokó?* fig (*cottonwood fruit*); **suavE* cross, crucifix (*cross*); *suapI* soul (*thought?*); **uthai-* bless (*pity*); *hivihkatI*, *hivipI* drunk (*hi-vI drink!* [this could also be interpreted as loan-translation]); *hi-ki* evening, umbrella (*shade*); *maniha-* to read, make a fixed speech (*name something*); *na?sihpó?* ball, baseball (*gourd* [na? it's + fallen from the cold]); **nakuI* gunpowder (*powder*); **nacu?U* medicine (*medicine*); **nítipka?* button (*tipi lacing-pin*); *nítivu?ipI* button-hole (*slits for lacing tipi*); **nohi?* toy, game (*toy* [nohi play]); **wa?* *ihpikwasu?* woman's dress; *wahka?etI* running, galloping (*said of herd of horses, buffalo, merry-go-round, machine, motor, etc.*); **wanapI* cloth (*bark*); *wa?rohkiyá?* pincers, tongs (*crawfish* [shellfish, + carry in the mouth]); **wihI* knife (*flint knife*); *wi?ai-ki* to crank a car, turn a grindstone, roll a hoop, wind something up; formerly to make a horse lope by whipping or urging it. (*wi?* instrumental + *?ai go* + *-ki* causative); *wihivi?* cup (*old word*) (*wi-* + *hivi-* drink + *-?*, nominalizer); *winomenA* move hips back and forth as in copulation; now dance, hula, etc; *wokoral?* aerape (*pointed bunting, (bird)* [*woko-* pine + *tai spot*]); *yokapI* oyster (*mucous, spittle*); **yuhU* oil, grease, lard (*fat*).

192 in order to distinguish the old trait from
 193 the new the modifiers *taivo-* "White man's,"

197 "Julian H. Steward, Culture Element Distributions: XIII, Nevada Shoshone, Anthropological Records, 4: 2, p. 332 (University of California, 1941) gives *pitch* for *sanako*.

"Julian H. Steward, Culture Element Distributions: XIII, Nevada Shoshone, Anthropological Records, 4: 2, p. 261 (University of California, 1941) gives *breath* as the meaning of this word in Shoshone.

"Albert Gallatin, A Synopsis of the Indian Tribes North of Mexico, Trans. & Coll. of the

192 and *nimi-Indians* or *ours*, are often prefixed
 193 to a word whose meaning has been ex-
 197 tended." The use of the modifier is optional
 to some extent, depending upon contexts
 where ambiguity might arise; but they often
 tend to become fixed and integral parts of
 the word. In many of the following examples
 the unmodified word refers primarily to the
 new trait and the modifier is necessary when
 the old trait is to be specified. These ex-
 192 amples indicate the extent to which new
 traits have superseded their native counter-
 parts:

?a'ahká? *banana* (Detrich gives tab ak
 see); *nimi'a'ahká?* *devil's claw*, a plant
 bearing a crescent-shaped seed-pod which
 turns brown and then black and yields
 edible black seeds. (From ?a' *horn*, katl
got). ?amawó? *apple*; *nimi'amawó?* *red-*
haw (*tirie*- *little* [redupl.] may also be used
 instead of *nimi*-). **tisaa* *perfume*; *nimirisaa*
a native perfume made from a plant. **kahn*
house; **nimikahn* *tipi*. *konO* *cradle*; also
 now, *coffin*; *nimikonO* *cradle-board*. **kuhcU*
cattle (**pimoro?*, however, is more common);

Amer. Antiquarian Society, Vol. II, (Cambridge,
 Massachusetts; 1836), gives *tabbebo* for White
 man.

[113] "Gosiute, a language closely related to Co-
 manche, uses *taibo*, the cognate of Comanche
taivo-, in the same way; Ralph V. Chamberlain,
 Animal Names and Anatomical Terms of the
 Gosiute Indians, Proceedings of the Academy of
 Natural Sciences of Philadelphia, 60: 74-103
 (1906). The use of a modifying element to dis-
 tinguish the old from the new is widespread in
 North American Indian languages. See Albert S.
 Gatchet, 'Real', 'true', or 'genuine' in Indian
 Languages, AA o.s., 19: 391-403 (1896); John P.
 Harrington, Vocabulary of the Kiowa Language,
 BAE Bulletin 84 (Washington, D. C.; 1928); and
 D. D. Lee, The Linguistic Aspects of Wintu-
 Acculturation, AA 45: 435-440, p. 438 (1943).

"Julian H. Steward, Culture Element Dis-
 tributions: XXIII, Northern and Gosiute Sho-
 shone, Anthropological Records, 8: 3, p. 365
 (University of California, 1943), gives this for the
 Lemhi Shoshone.

"Albert Gallatin, A Synopsis of the Indian
 Tribes North of Mexico, Trans. & Coll. of the
 Amer. Antiquarian Society, Vol. II (Cambridge,
 Massachusetts; 1836), gives *koiso* for bison.

192 *nimikubcU buffalo. kwasu? shirt, dress;
nimikwasu? women's dress of deer or antelope
hide. #napl shoes; *nininapl moccasins. na-
cichtu?ye? hair-brush; nimiracichtu?ye hair-
brush, made of yucca. *wanahl blanket
(wana- cloth + -hl hair); *nimiwanahl
buffalo hide robe. wiya? rope; nimiwiya?
braided rawhide rope. yivr-ci? grapes;
nimiyiva-ci? wild grapes. nimirarivo? paint
brush of soft bone. pasohó? mourning dove;
taivovasohó? pigeon. *piyI wild duck;
taivovi-yI domesticated duck. nihkapI dance;
taivonihkapI modern dance. niki-tA Canada
goose; taivoniki-tA domesticated goose. taivo-
vihna? canteloupe (White man's sweet).
taivonacu?U patent medicine. ?evI powder;
taivo?evI face powder; nimi?evI powder of
white clay used as a cosmetic; also mixed with
medicines; used to whiten buckskin. pikapI
leather; taivovikapI leather; nimirikapI
buckskin. mu?vitá?I nostril, walnut; taivo-
mu?vitá?I English walnut; nimiru?vitá?I
black walnut. *na?e?ka? date, persimmon (its
seeds got); taivona?e?ka? date; nimiru?e?ka?
persimmon. na?co?me? plums; taivo-
na?co?me? tame plums, dried plums or
prunes; nimiru?co?me? wild plums.

192

197

[828]

Comparable to this simple widening of
meaning is the extension of old beliefs to the
new cultural borrowings. These are often
reflected in a word: kuhcutiviniA horned
toad (ask the whereabouts of buffalo);
now also cattle. yiharihkapI one with a
hare-hip (yihA fruit worm + tihkapI eaten;
the worm, now extended to those found in
cultivated fruits, is supposed to cause hare-
lip by entering a pregnant woman).

4.2. Newly coined words, which comprise
about 65% of the collected Comanche ac-
culturation vocabulary, may be analyzable
into their component morphological parts;
or they may be unanalyzable. The latter are
of two major types: onomatopoeic or
symbolic,²² and asymbolic radicals. Slang
and deliberate word creations are fertile

²² Leonard Bloomfield, *Language*, p. 156 (Holt,
New York, 1933).

192 sources of the latter type in English.⁷¹

197 These fashions are foreign to Comanche; however a pattern for onomatopoeic formations seems to exist (e.g., wo⁷woki- bark; ti⁷i killdeer; civiv⁷ chickadee), and the language has added a small number of these forms to its relatively limited number of roots: *ta⁷wo⁷i⁷ gun, rifle (doubtful); koka⁷ guinea fowl; ko⁷ko⁷ chicken; *ko⁷korá⁷a⁷ rooster, chicken; *wa⁷o⁷ cat.

New analyzable words, on the other hand, are exceedingly abundant in Comanche. These are usually descriptive of the new traits, or embody some observation or attitude towards them. While the analysis of most words is quite transparent, this was not always immediately apparent to the native speaker himself who often evinced surprise at realizing the etymology of a word he had never thought about in these terms before.

193 The presence of the set of instrumental
197 prefixes and the pattern of their frequent use
192 has led to the description of many new items,
and especially machines and implements, in
dynamic terms rather than in static ones
of color, shape, and size. Further, the formation
of words by incremental affixation
[193] allows a considerable degree of subtlety
and accuracy of description which is succinctly expressed in many of the new coinages:⁷² pacahto⁷i⁷ pump (raise water forcefully with the hands) [pa- water + cah- instrumental + to⁷i rise, go up + -⁷, nominalizer]; ku⁷mito⁷ai⁷ pop-corn (turned inside out by heat) [ku⁷- by heat + mito- inside out + ai⁷ go + -⁷, nominalizer]; nara⁷aiki⁷ bicycle (make one's self go with the feet) [na-, reflexive + ta⁷- with the feet + ai⁷ go + -ki, causative + -⁷, nominalizer];

[113] ⁷¹ E. H. Starrevant, An Introduction to Linguistic Science, pp. 120 ff., and 127 ff. (New Haven, Connecticut; 1947).

⁷² Robert G. Latham, Elements of Comparative Philology (London; 1863), says that there was then no word for cat.

[128] ⁷³ In these and the following examples the literal translation is enclosed in parentheses, and the analysis, where given, is in square brackets.

[p. 222-A]

192 *hutahtivi?*? brace and bit (to make a hole
 in wood with the flat).

4.3 New descriptive formations are listed
 in the following paragraphs:

?ara?I bridle (at the temple); *?amakwAsU
 vest (chest shirt); ?a-wonohi? dice (cup game).
 ?ekahpa? soda water (red water); ?eka-
 vIta?wo?i? ££ rifle (copper (?ekavI) gun;
 so-called because the shells are copper);
 ?ekari?pl brick (red stone); ?ekarihkapI
 beets, radishes (red food); ?ekanohtima?
 tomatoes (red tin can); *?ekayiyika? jelly,
 jam (red shaky stuff); *?eksahpana? soldier
 (red belly) [?eka- red + sa- belly + pana?;
 compare mahpa?nA palm, and tahpa?nA
 sole; or pana stretch across + -, nominalizer.]
 U. S. Army uniforms of the mid-1800s had
 red braid across the chest. ?eksikwe? old
 style blanket, half red, half blue (red half);
 ?evisi?yuhki? the Hopi piki, a thin stone-
 baked corn meal cake often colored with
 vegetable dyes. (blue-green flat pieces);
 ?evisioni?l alfalfa (green grass); ?eviweha?
 sulphur (blue burn); ?esini?mI captive
 (grey, drab person) [compare ?esi- in ?esi-
 tiyai epileptic, tiyai dead person; and
 ?esiwa?ihpi? a drab, wa?ihpi? woman].
 ?icakwasu? veil [compare ?icahpi? de-
 fined as a person who doesn't care what he or
 she does, or what people think; kwasu? shirt,
 dress]; *?imakwAsu? mackintosh (rain
 dress).

?oti?awO canleen, jug, thermos bottle
 (brown cup) [Detrich gives awt ah ow ah,
 ?oti?awo for bottle]; ?otiwani?l khaki (brown
 cloth); *?ohavici?l butter (yellow milk);
 ?ohahpuhiwI gold, a gold piece (yellow metal);
 ?ohamiki?kamati? mustard (yellow sour taste);
 ?ohahkunawaikin street-car (yellow train,
 locomotive) Lawton, Oklahoma, used to have
 yellow street cars. ?omowitua camp kettle,
 cauldron (leg bucket); *?onanacu?U Epsom
 salts (salt medicine); ?oyoritani? chest of
 drawers (belongings put away).

papikamAnacu?U aspirin (headache medi-
 cine); papica?nika? wig (put onto the head
 with the hands) [pa?pl head + ca?, instru-

- 192 mental + nika push into + -, nominalizer];
 papicibupka? hairpin (fasten hair with
 something pointed) but papiv head hair;
 pavoko?awO tumbler, glass (clear or trans-
 parent cup); pavoko?awovici? nursing bottle
 (glass breast); patiwiari pi turquoise (alga-
 colored rock) [pa water + ti-, intransitivizer
 + wia wear out, + ti pi stone, rock]; pa-
 kico?nika? beaver fur hat (beaver hat);
 pahorapi well [pa water + hora dig + -pi,
 nominalizer]; pahie?e? whip (customarily
 cracks); pa?muci? old style saddle [pa?-
 long + muc- sharp + -, nominalizer];
 pawovivu?kU? boat (water board horse);
 pekwinarohitman canned salmon, or sar-
 dines (fish canned); pia?ohapli? grape-
 fruit (big orange); piakwAsu? coat (big shirt);
 piahuhcu?raivo? Republican (eagle White
 man); ko?korá?raivo? Democrat (rooster
 White man) [The eagle and the rooster were
 early party emblems]. pikakUa chaps
 (leather leggings); pikwai? single buggy
 This was translated as nothing behind.
 [pi- buttocks; and kwasi tail; also pikwai-
 nakwi back end]; pici?wihpara? brassiere
 (spread over breasts); *picohkO trousers
 (buttocks covered); *pisayune? tin, tin can,
 canned goods (paint falls off) (pisapi paint
 + yuman fall off (?). Another informant
 thought this referred to a soft noise from
 tin rolled up and strung and put on moc-
 casins). pisimaroko?ri pi opal (rainbow, eore
 thumb, stone) [Belief that if one pointed to
 the rainbow, one's finger would rot and
 fall off]; *piso?na cushion, rug (buttock pad);
 pihivoa type of modern dress; petticoat
 (spread out from the buttocks fan-wise);
 *?pimoró? cattle (graze backwards (?));
 pimoró?sa?ri? collie (cattle dog); *pihnároh-
 tiya? cake, sweet roll (sweet bread);
 pihnánohkopi? cake, cookies (sweet baked);
 pieriyalmuya?ke? radio (ghost music); pieri-
 nahani pi ready made (clothes) [pie- old,

[113] "Randolph B. Marey, Exploration of the Red
 River of Louisiana in the year 1851, 32d Congress,
 2d Session. (Washington, D. C.; 1853), writes
 wo-we-poke (wovivu?kU wooden or board horses)
 for boat.

192 former + -*ni* very own + *na*, reflexive +
hani make + -*pi*, nominalizer]; *piesu* 've?
bandanna [pie- + *su*?, 3rd per. sing. demon.
+ *pe* hang down (?)]; *pihikukwe* 'ya? lion
(head comes out of hair); **pihis'awanapi*
velvet (down feather cloth); **pihiwanapi*
flannel (hair cloth); **pihisi* 'ki? I peach (hairy
plum); *pimatanácinaro* 'iki? enA syringe
(pointed object which makes one defecate);
**po* 'sava whiskey (crazy water); *po* 'sari vo *pi*
comics (crazy book); *po* 'sawa 'ihpi? harlot
(crazy woman); *pokori* hka *pi* vegetables (fruit
food); *posa* 'ki bridge (string [as beads] at);
pukuri hka? oats (horse food); **puhivihna* ?
watermelon (plant sweet); *puhi* (pi) *tihka* *pi*
greens: celery, lettuce, spinach, etc. (plant
food); **puhi* hu vA tea (weed coffee, wood
water); **puhi* wi 'ai? blacksmith (makes metal);
puhi wika *ni* bank (money house); **puhi* wirek-
wa *pi* telephone, telegraph (metal talker);
puhi witi vo typewriter (metal writer); *puhi*-
witi vo *pi* check, bank note (money paper);
puhi witi ro *pa* ? nails (metal string [fasten]
with the fist); *puhi* witi ra wina? nails (metal
pegs, wooden tipi pegs); *puhi* witi so *ti* O horse-
shoe (metal hoof); *puhi* wihia? fish hook,
steel trap (metal trap); *puica* 'nika? eye glasses
[*pui* eye + *ca*?- instrumental + *nika* push
into + -, nominalizer].

ta 'ivihá 'ra? kidney beans, lima beans
(flat beans); *ta* 'nika? stirrup (push into
with the foot); *taivo* rekwa *pi* English
(While man's talk); *tave* vo? captive, or
descendant of captive; While man: deroga-
tory [corruption of *taivo*?, (While man)];
tave huhcu? peacock (sun bird); *ta* púhi-
wi ma *pi* loan (our money gotten); *tari* hka *pi*
cereal (morning food); *taki* ya 'enA fever
thermometer (hold in one's mouth); *tasi* ?
awisi wi *pi* vaccination (small pox cut open);
ta i kó? E skate (slide on the foot); *ta* so nA
rug, carpet (foot pad); *tahiv* i uohko *pi* pan-
cake, tortilla (thin baked); *tahiv* i wihi *ni* sword
(thin knife); *tahiv* i wo eA suitcase (thin
container); *tah* mani? early corn (*tahma* -*ni*
spring of year); *tamaki* -*nika*? false teeth
(teeth push into with the mouth); *tie* 'a wO
spoon (little cup); *tiev* i hihi 'ki? I apricot

- 192 (little peach); tiehna[?]kwisi[?] *aguash* (little pumpkin); tipecanika[?] *bit* (thrust into the mouth); *tiyo:pl paper, printed matter, book, letter; *credit* [ti- + po[?] draw, mark + -pl, nominalizer]; tiyo:plwosA mail box (letter holder); tiyo:knI school (writing house); tiyo:wapi school child, amanuensis; tipipu[?]E concrete road (stone road); tipitaso[?]nA concrete sidewalk (stone foot pad); tipiknI jail (stone house); ti[?]nokatI camel (got loaded); tirahcuki[?] eraser (rub out with the foot); *tirawipl wages [ti- + tawi bet, win + -pl, nominalizer]; *tiri[?]aiwapi slave, captive; tenant, hired hand; lesee (person who works for one); *tirikAraivo[?] robber, thief, freebooter (thief White man); tirina[?] lister (planter); tirohtIwa[?] can opener (open with the fist); tirohtima[?] cork, stopper (close with the fist); *tikI[?]so[?]nA oil-cloth (pad to eat off); tikihko[?] scissors [ti- + kih- with the teeth + ko[?] cut through + -?]; tikima[?]ai[?] ribbon (make an edge); *tikimahIa[?] black pepper, spices (food mix); tikinara[?]O lunch-box (food sack); tica[?]o[?]ki[?] rake [ti- + ca[?]- + o[?]ki gather together + -?]; ticavo[?] plow [ti- + ca- + po[?] mark + -?]; ticahpico[?]ni[?] clothes wringer (twist with the hands); ticah-to[?] winch, pulley (raise with the hands); ticahkina[?] sewing machine (hold down with the hands); ticipOsa[?] nut and bolt, screw (string together with a point); ticIkeraivo[?] barber (cut White man); ticikwIsipI knitting (twisted together with a pointed object); tiso[?]nA dish, table cloth, (food pad); tihtima[?] fence [tima- enclose]; *tihi[?]yaknI barn (horse house); tiika[?] fork, table [tiika- eat + -?]; tiikaphanarsupI hamburger, sausage (food ground up); tihtimsune[?] wash-board (rub with the hands); tihtIhativo[?]pI book (ti- + niha- name + tiyo:pl); timava[?]pI dough, batter (put the hand in something sticky); *timacune[?] file, whetstone, grindstone (rub with the hand); timaniku[?]wipI cottage cheese [ti- + ma- + niku[?]wI, coagulate + -pl]; *timi[?] buy, sell, trade [ti- + mi- to distribute surplus food such as buffalo meat, dried plums, etc.]; tiyaiphanove[?]tI ambulance, hearse (carries the dead); tiyahiha-

192 konO coffin (dead person's cradle); ti'yUsike? harrow [ti- + yusiketI fine, granular]; tokInE thresh by having horses trample grain covered with a cloth; shell corn [to- with the fist or hoof + kIne]; tosakima? blanket with white edges, or cut in two and sewn together to get stripe down the center (white edge); *tosakInI tent, canvas (white tipi, house); *tosahketuka? candle (white lamp, doesn't go out); toshnarsO flour sack (white sack); tosanawahi sheet, bedspread (white blanket); tosoyoki? powder (shake out with the fist); tu'rekwasu? sweater (rubber-shirt); tu'recinarsO condom (rubber fore-skin); tu'renapI rubbers, overshoes (rubber shoes); tu'vihciwaikin passenger-car (young men's wagon) [JC said people dress up like young men to board them]; *tu'pa coffee (black water); *tu'pihna? molasses, chocolate (black sweet); tu'pu'E asphalt road (black road); *tu'taivo Negro (black White man); *tuka?⁷⁵ lamp [see tu'ka put out; possibly shortened from ketuka? doesn't go out]; tu'ku'nA coal (black fire); tumari'ki to fingerprint a check, document or record (make a black mark); tu'naivihna?⁷⁶ molasses (viscous sweet); tu'wihtus? iron kettle (black bucket).

kahni?aitaivo carpenter (house make White man); kahnivusi?A bedbug (house louse); kahnituka?e'tI fire extinguisher (house customarily puts out fire); kahni'siyuna? shingles (house flat pieces piled up); kahni-havinA street (houses stretched along); kah-ninahI'ki porch (house shade); kahniwo? nokanA street (house canyon); *ketuka?anáva keroene (lamp's water); kesuakhni jail (mean, bad house); kihtavicipI cheese (hard milk); kihtawanapi denim (hard cloth); ko'avicipI cheese (goin milk); ko'akawana? cheese (goin smell); *kove'ivo'pi portrait (face paper, picture); koveca'nika? mast

[113]

⁷⁵ Charles Detrich, Comanche Vocabulary Collected at Fort Sill, Oklahoma, manuscript on file at BAE (1965), gives ka to kah nota ah yah kot, ketukanacayakatI, (ketuka- lamp + na-, reflexive + ca- + ya carry + -katI possessor of; lantra).

⁷⁶ ibid, gives saw ny pee nah, so naivihna? very sticky sweet.

192 (push onto the face with an upward movement of the hand); kovEsari? bulldog (face dog); *kuekwAsibtaivo? Chinese (top tail White man) kuklme?awO skillet (crooking cup); *kubpate?é? fire-cracker (cracks, pops by heat); kwavikhkhI hotel (lie down house); *kwasitaivo? monkey (tail White man); kwa?sinapI slippers (tailless shoes) [kwa?si? bob-tailed, tailless one].

ca?eawiki? sieve, sifter [ca? + sa:witI porous + -ki? (?)]; ca?iti?pi jewel (fine stone); ca?wanapI silk (fine cloth); cena?sari? German Shepherd (wolf dog); ci?veta? flat dish, saucer (spread out and shallow); ci?winihti?eka? vaseline (chapped to put on); ciplsi? gonorrhea (penis rotten); cihpoco? billiards (bounce with a pointed object); *co?nika? hat (push into with the head).

sapivicohkO overalls (belly trousers); *sa-tociva? beer (foam water); *sa-hu?va soup, stew [sa? boil meat + hu- wood + pa, water]; *sa-witivó?a-katI almond (has porous shell, rind); sa-witináshrokatI almond (has porous sack); sa-wínacabtima? a green door [sa-wi porous + na-, reflexive + cab-instrumental + tíma close + -? nominalizer]; sekwikhni storm-cellar (mud house); *sikika?ma? pickles, vinegar, mustard, lemon (sour taste); simisi-wánavuhwiI paper dollar (one cloth money); so?onarivaki? repeating rifle (load from the cheek); *so?kahni town, city (many houses); *soko?awO china cup or dish (earth cup); *soko?eksahpana? infantryman (earth soldier); sokorivo?pi map; deed to land (earth paper); sokocihpomi?i? disc (break up earth with a sharp instrument); sokocihtova? shovel (uproot or displace earth with a pointed object); sonariwaki? mattress (straw stuffed in); sonivihná? sugar cane; sorghum (grass sweet); sonivuhwiI money received from cattlemen for leasing grasslands (grass money); sonichima? pitchfork (pick up grass with a pointed object); *soninahro gumney sack (grass sack); *soninahru? oats [soni- grass + nahru? counters used in a hiding game]; soniyikwi? binder, mower (grass sits down).

*hapi?na? suspenders [ha-vI lay, and pi? instrumental, referring to buttocks +

192 nakwI, *side, direction*; hanito?I *corn-cob pipe (corn pipe)*; hanitusupI *corn-meal (corn ground up)*; hanikahnI *corn-crib (corn house)*; haniwo?ora *corn-cob (corn backbone)*; hi?o'kwana? *mentholatum (sun-flower smell)*; *hiki?ai? *umbrella; parasol (makes shade)*; hu-vA *coffee (wood water)*; hupihna? *molasses; syrup [newer word] (wood sweet)*; hu'ko?i? *saw (wood cut up)*; *hu'ku'na *matches (wood fire)*; hu'cu-rekwa?e'tI *parrot (bird talks customarily)*; hu'cihka?a? *saw [hu- wood + cih- with a sharp instrument + ka?A separate + -?]*; hu'sive? *drow-knife; plane (wood scrape, arrow, hide)*; humasiapI *orchard [hu- + ma- with the hand + sia grow + -pI, resultative nominalizer]*; hu'masu?ne? *file, rasp (wood rub hand back and forth)*; hu'hwane? *axe [Used by older persons. Possibly from hu- wood + hani to make].*

ma?ni?sari? *dachshund (heavy-bodied dog)*; mawicohkO *bracelet (goes around arm)*; makUsA *sleeve (arm legging) a tubular legging of buckskin worn from hip to ankle*. mahtupE *cuff (arm mouth)*; masia *to plant [ma- with the hand + sia grow]*; mayake? *piano (make cry with the hands)*; mo?oricahkina? *thimble (finger sewer)*; mo?oci?nika? *ring [mo?O hand + ci? + nika push into + -?, nominalizer]*; *mo?opahrsO *glove, mitten (hand sack)*; muvico'ni? *lollipop (wring out juice with the mouth) [compare namavico'ni? mesquite, wring itself out with the hands]*; muvisari? *greyhound (nose dog)*; muvo'tohki? *balloon (swollen with the mouth)*; muhpe? *hoe (nose bend over)*; *muyake? *musical instrument; phonograph, organ (make cry with the mouth)*; muyake?e'tI *musician*; muyake?eti? *orchestra, band*.

na?a'wO *drawer (its cup, container)*; na?o'mO *wheel, leg (its leg)*; na?raivo? *captive, slave; hired hand [na- + taivo? White man]*; *na?kihtava?i? *pecans, nuts [na?- + crack with the teeth]*; na?koro'mi? *Ku Klux Klan (face covered)*; na?kw'isi? *pumpkin [na?- + kwisi? braid + -? nomi-*

[251]

" It was stated that in the old days pumpkin was cut into strips, dried, and woven into mats for

[P. 225-B]

- 192 nalizer; na²ciya² see-saw (raise one's self with a pointed object); nap'ca²ika² shoe-lorn (shoe pull in); navo²pl writing, print [na- + po² draw + -pl]; navo²royaruhku² tiger (striped mountain lion); navOsa² chain [na- + po²A string, as beads, + -?]; navuku-waricavo² tractor (horseless plow); narahw-sanap² boots (legging shoes); nari²iyati/ puhwiwrekwap² telegraph (dangerous or wonderful metal talk); narimi² town, village [na- + timi² buy, sell]; narihka² groceries [na- + tihka² eat + -?]; narino² saddle [na- + ti- + no² load + -?]; narino²va²pl pommel (saddle head); narino²anahotUkO saddle skirt (saddle's flanks); naro²i² stairs; ladder [na- + to²i go up + -?]; *narohtima² tin can, jar; lid, cover (close itself with the fist); *nakari² chair [na- + ka²I sit + -?]; nakariticavo² plow (horse drawn) (chair plow); naklari² hound (ear dog); *nako²hpo²pl brand (cattle) (its fire mark); nakohto² stove [na- + kohto² build a fire + -?]; naca²ani² buggy [na- + ca² - + ? and fall, come down + -?]; nacahkwinU²e² revolver (turns itself with the hand); nacahwi² gate, door (pushes aside with the hand); *nacamukwe² grapes, currants, raisins (eat by plucking off with the mouth); nacahwi² gate (thrown aside); nacayakatituka² lantern [*tuka² lamp, given above]; naci²ai² wheelbarrow [na- + ci² - + ?ai go + -ki benefactive + -?]; *nacihtima² lock, bolt; key [na- + ci² + tima close + -?]; nacihto² cane (brace one's self with a pointed instrument); naciwekwa² spurs, rowel [na- + ci- + wekwa² jab + -?]; nacu²ukahni² hospital (medicine house); nasa²wi² screen [na- + sa²wi- porous]; nahawari²iphakni² poor-house (person who cannot do for himself house); nahoikiti² belt (put around one's self); *namahia² baking powder [na- + mahIA

[251] storage, perhaps following the custom of the Wichita or Mandan.

² Charles Detrich, Comanche Vocabulary Collected at Fort Bill, Oklahoma, manuscript on file at BAE (1935), gives to wah we pok, tu wevru kU (black board horse) for buggy. tu-walkin black hack (black wagon [English]), was collected in 1940.

192 *mir* + -?]; *namocono*? *tweezers* [na- + mo'o *whiskers* + no'I *pluck* + -?]; **namocowicke*? *razor* (*whisker cutter*); *namu-vliscina*? *handkerchief* (*wipe, rub something off one's nose*); *nana*? *atahpunaha*? *taffeta, changeable cloth* (*change in different ways*); *narimu*? *irivo*? *newspaper* (*tells a story paper*); **nani*? *o'ki*? *court* [na- + ni'o'ki *call people together* + -?]; *nano*? *harness, old people's word* (*its load*); **nayohkahni* *brothel* [na- + yo'kO *copulate* + kahni *house*]; **nayokOwa*? *ihpi*? *prostitute* (*woman who copulates*); *ni*? *picapi* *operation* (*cut one open*); *ni*? *pohpi*? *skipping-rope* (*make one's self jump*); *ni*? *hica*? *wi*? *fan* [ni- + hi'ca? *wi* *cool a person* + -?]; *nimivó*? *e'ti* *camera* (*customarily draws people*); *nimimáka*? *e'ti* *waitress, waiter* (*customarily gives people food*); *niminó*? *e'ti* *bus* (*customarily carries people*); *nimiwlélke*? *e'ti* *barber* (*customarily cuts people*); **ninakariki*? *medal, badge* [*ninapi* *chest* + ka'ri *sit* + -ki *benefactive* + -? *nominalizer*]; *ninaci*? *nika*? *pin, brooch* (*push a pointed object onto the chest*); *niniyí*? *wi*? *alligator* [ni-, reduplicated (?) + yi'wi (*swallow*) + -?]; *no*? *anohkopí* *pie* (*pregnant bread, baked*); *no*? *sina*? *camokwe*? *Concord grapes* (*embryo grapes*); *nohihtaivo*? *circus, carnival, fair* (*play White man*); *nohihkni* *theater* (*play house*); *nohkopí* *bread, biscuits* (*baked*); *nuktsari*? *greyhound* (*run off dog*); *nunurawi*? *movies* [*nunurawipi* *stampeded, ran off, as buffalo herd*].

**wanaramU* *thread, cord* (*cloth sinew*); *wanaraséyu*? *clown* (*cloth puffed out at the foot re pantaloons*); **wanako*? *ce*? *soap* (*cloth washer*); **wanacahkina*? *needle* (*cloth sewer*); **wanaciya*? *flag, banner* (*cloth held up by a pointed instrument*); **wanapi* *stockings* (*cloth shoes*); *wansonA* *cotton* [*wanapi* *cloth* + sonA *pad*]; *wansonamu-vicapi* *open cotton boll* (*cotton opened with the mouth*) [*so-called because of belief that whatever is inside breaks the boll open with its beak as does a hatching bird*]; *wihaviti* *parade* (*stretch along, as vine, etc.*); **wo*? *arihakpi* *rice* (*worm food*) [It was said that rice looks just like worms. It was thrown away when first received as rations];

192 away when first received as rations; *woko-
hubeu? parrot (pine bird) [So-called, accord-
ing to one informant, because of markings
on feathers]; wo'navina? canteloupe (striped
seed).

yananikitl movies (vibrate, flicker);
yici?etl airplane (customarily flies); yiyitu?
jello (shakes jerkily); yokarihkapi okra
(slimy food); yoniwanapi soft and fine
cotton or woolen cloth [yoniketl soft, fine,
fuzzy + wanapi cloth]; *yu-puhiwI iron
(common metal); *yu-taivo? Mexican
(common White man); yu-tihkapl beef, meat
(common food); yu-tiso'nA tin plate (ordinary
plate); yu'kwasu? everyday dress (ordinary
dress, shirt); yuburuka? candle (grease
lamp); yuhunohkopl fried bread, doughnut
(grease, fat bread); yuhunacu?U castor oil
(oil medicine); yu'nahu? table knife (ordinary
knife); yu'wanapi calico, cotton cloth (ordi-
nary cloth); yu'wananapi cotton stockings
(ordinary stockings).

192 4.4. In addition to the new descriptive
197 words listed above, Comanche makes rather
frequent use of circumlocutory expressions
to designate new traits not boasting words
of their own. For the most part these de-
scriptive phrases are used in reference to
the less familiar products of American
culture, or as a means of delimiting meaning
in ambiguous contexts, e.g., sikika?ma?
could be used instead of the longer phrase
given below if the meaning lemon was
understood in context. If Comanche did
not have a word for, say, olive or sponge,
J, who is a skillful interpreter, when sure of
the meaning of the English word would
124 easily improvise a Comanche word or
phrase which, as a rule, was readily intelli-
gible to other Comanche. This process was
tested and observed repeatedly, and in
fact became a popular word-game among
our interpreters.

192 Many of these periphrastic formations,
197 such as those for hell or lemon, are fixed in

*?kusitaivo? grey, dark-colored white man, was
also recorded for Mexican.

192 form and have general currency in the
 [197] language. Morphologically they are com-
 parable to such expressions as cock-of-the-
 walk in English and can be described as
 "phrase-words".²⁰ The following examples
 are selected at random from among the
 considerable number collected.

?ekavIti/namarInipkahtu/tawihitia?enA
 [red one's-wound-that place-pour-on] (iodine,
 mercurochrome).

?ohapIti?a/taka/sikikamatI [orange's
 brother tastes-sour] (lemon).

kesic?aia/pahiku/ta?api?/tekwapahaná-
 vo?I [before-Jesus was-born God's word-
 written] (Old Testament).

suricahtiesoko?vi/pihaya?ikina/tenapima?
 aiku/wa?ihpi?a/tatahtiki? [that-beautiful-
 land where-first man-with woman took-steps]
 (Garden of Eden)

pikIrahávi?ena/pi?wesuru?i? [place-one
 lies swings-with-buttocks-hanging-down] (ham-
 mock)

si?ki?iha/taka/pahpa?akunáaweni?e?ti
 [plum's brother long-stem-hanging] (cherry)

nimipiknáyikwi?ena/kahnihavinA [In-
 dian-where-they-mingle street] [3rd Street in
 Lawton, Okla.)

wanakoewa?iti/pimatatirohtima?enA
 [soaplike with-which-one-seals-cans] (paraffin)

197 The problem of accounting for the large
 192 proportion of descriptive terms in the Co-
 121 manche acculturation vocabulary as, indeed,
 in most American Indian languages,²¹ is
 immediately posed. Culture contact need
 not be as intense for new coinages or for
 meaning extensions, which together com-
 prise about 95 % of the Comanche accultura-
 tion vocabulary, as for loanwords and
 translation-borrowing where some knowl-
 edge of the language as well as the products
 of the donor culture is required.

The formal tendencies of a language, as
 well as historical influences, may be a potent
 factor in rejecting or accepting foreign

²⁰ Leonard Bloomfield, *Language*, p. 207 (Holt,
 New York; 1933).

²¹ Leonard Bloomfield, *Language*, p. 455 (Holt,
 New York; 1933).

192 words.²² With an efficient means of word-
197 building at hand, Comanche had little need
[121] to resort to linguistic borrowing. Also, the
absence of writing and a literary or scholarly
tradition in Comanche seems to have acted
as a further deterrent to borrowing.²³

121 Nor, although they are difficult to assess,
197 can such factors as speech fashions and the
efforts of native language purists be ignored.

197 There is evidence that the Comanche pos-
195 sessed considerable pride of tongue. Richard-
son refers to Comanche as the court language
of the South Plains,²⁴ and, indeed, it is
difficult to imagine the Comanche con-
descending to use the language of a lesser
198 people. Moreover, the sign language was
available as a lingua franca and was widely
used among the Plains tribes.

121 Even if a language does undergo wholesale
changes these are mostly in vocabulary and
not in phonetic form or grammar where a
more pedestrian drift seems to characterize
linguistic changes. When contacts reach a
certain intensity and duration, and as the
social and psychological pressure of the
dominant language increases, there is a
tendency to adopt the language of the domi-
nant culture rather than to patch up the
old language to serve.²⁵

4.5. Loanwords have received a fair
share of attention from linguists,²⁶ and they

²² Edward Sapir, *Language*, pp. 206-10 (New
York, 1921).

[113] ²³ By contrast, cp. Hausa, in Joseph H. Green-
berg, *Arabic Loan-Words in Hausa*, Word 3: 85-
97 (1947).

²⁴ R. N. Richardson, *The Comanche Barrier to
South Plains Settlement*, p. 23 (Glendale, Cali-
fornia; 1933).

²⁵ Edward Sapir, *Language*, p. 220 (New York,
1921).

[113] ²⁶ For example, Myles Dillon, *Linguistic Bor-
rowing and Historical Evidence*, Lg 21: 12-17
(1945); Robert A. Hall, Jr., *English Loan-Words
in Micronesian Languages*, Lg 21: 214-219 (1945);
Einar Haugen, *Phonological Shifting in American
Norwegian*, Lg 14: 112-120 (1938); M. J. Herko-
vits, *On the Provenience of the Portuguese in
Saramacca Tongo, de West-Indische Gids*, 13:
545-550 (1930); K. H. Menges, *Altaic Loanwords in*

[2] are perhaps the most interesting category for the student of acculturation and culture change. From the number of loanwords in a language and from a knowledge of their provenience one can often arrive at a rough estimate of the amount of contact a people has had, of the nature of that contact, and of the contributions made by the donor culture or cultures.

197 Loanwords are heard by speakers of the borrowing language in terms of native phonetics, and unless there is a fair knowledge of the phonemes of the donor language, the borrowed words will be transmuted into the native phonetic pattern. It might be mentioned here that the majority of the English-speaking persons with whom the Comanche came in contact probably spoke a Southern American dialect. Thus, the *r* in *acre* was probably not regularly pronounced and the Comanche *ʔekiʔ* is therefore a close approximation of the American pronunciation. Where Comanche has no exactly comparable sounds, foreign phonemes are translated into their nearest Comanche equivalents. The following table lists those most frequently heard:

Spanish	Comanche	English	Comanche
b	w	b	p
ð	e	-b-	-v-
l	r	f	p
r	ʔ	d	t
fr	p	g	k
rt	ht	ð	c
rk	ʔr	ʒ	c
nt	r	š	s
dr	r	l	r
		r	r
		rl	r

The Spanish vowels (i, e, a, o, u) have rather close equivalents in Comanche and

[113] Slavonic, Lg 20: 66-72 (1944); Alfred Senn, Polish Influence upon Lithuanian, Lg. 14: 148-153 (1938). E. H. Sturtevant, Linguistic Change: An Introduction to the Historical Study of Language (Chicago, 1917); and George L. Trager and G. Valdes, English Loans in Colorado Spanish, American Speech 12: 34-44 (1937).

197 are easily transposed. English vowels are
 194 heard by Comanche in their cardinal positions and are readily transmuted into their Comanche equivalents: i to i, e to e, a to a, o to o, A and a to i, etc.

194 There is a tendency for loanwords, especially those of an earlier vintage and in general currency, to conform to Comanche patterns of phonetic distribution described in 3.1.^A Consonant clusters are often reduced to a single consonant, or transmuted to the Comanche form of h or ? plus consonant, and borrowed words also tend to terminate in aspiration, a glottal stop, or a whispered vowel.

121 Phonetic transmutation may often be of considerable help in dating both the introduction of a new word and the trait to which it refers. Older borrowings tend to become more closely assimilated to the native phonetics. Thus, Trager in a study of loanwords in Taos, the language of a Pueblo tribe, expresses the opinion that the words which depart most radically from the original Spanish may be considered the oldest loans.⁷ Spencer makes the same point with respect to the use of Spanish by the Keres.⁸ He also notes that, "In the forms which are presumably older, considerable irregularity in sound shift from Spanish to Keresan is apparent".⁹ The same general tendencies may, I believe, be observed in Comanche

197 where earlier loans, i.e., those noted by
 194 Detrich in 1895 and marked with an asterisk
 192 [128] in the lists which follow, seem to diverge more markedly from their original Spanish pronunciation. Following this, and even in the absence of confirmatory historical evidence, we would assume that such Comanche loanwords as kavri? and po?ro? from Spanish, and paisé? and womitn from English are of earlier introduction. It should be

[113] ⁷ George L. Trager, *Spanish and English Loanwords in Taos*, IJAL 10: 144-158, p. 145 (1944).

⁸ Robert F. Spencer, *Spanish Loanwords in Keresan*, SJA 8: 130-146, pp. 132-133 (1947).

⁹ Robert F. Spencer, *Spanish Loanwords in Keresan*, SJA 8: 130-146, p. 133 (1947).

A[See p. 146-A--Analyst.]

A [p. 229-A]

197 noted, however, that Comanche phonetics
194 correspond more closely to Spanish than
192 English phonemes.

121 Occasionally where there has been a
long history of contacts, the same sounds
have been consistently transmuted into
different native phonemes at different his-
torical periods. This has been true for the
Yaqui where such phonetic clues have been
useful as an aid in allocating Spanish words
to the probable period of their introduction.⁶⁰
The same holds for Oneida which has
borrowed rather extensively from English
for several centuries.⁶¹ Here older borrowings
were fitted more stringently into a rather
fixed pattern of phonetic equivalents which
has been somewhat relaxed for later loans.

192 While Comanche pronunciation of loan-
194 words, especially those of more recent origin,
197 varies depending upon the speaker's knowl-
edge of Spanish or English, the words listed
below are spoken unselfconsciously AS IF
they were native forms and are an integral
part of the Comanche language. All the
128 examples collected are given and it is felt
that the list is virtually complete.

192 With the Spanish model in parentheses:
pa-ní⁶² pa-nU *white bread, store bought loaf*
(pan); pa-pasí *potato, potatoes* (papas);
*pihú-ra⁶³ *beans, peas* (frijoles); *pihná⁶⁴
sugar, candy; sweet (panocha); *po-ro⁶⁵ *pig;*
bacon (puerco); *tohtíya⁶⁶ *wheat; bread of*
any kind (tortilla); to-ro-sí⁶⁷ *cattle* (toro +

⁶⁰ Edward H. Spicer, *Linguistic Aspects of*
Yaqui Acculturation, AA 45: 410-426, pp. 420-423
(1943).

⁶¹ Floyd Lounsbury, *Personal Communication*
(1941).

[197] ⁶² Southern Paiute, a language closely related
to Comanche, has made the same loan from Span-
ish and has added a whispered vowel: pa-nA.
Edward Sapir, *Southern Paiute Dictionary*, Proc.
of the Amer. Academy of Arts and Sciences, 65:
537-730, p. 600 (Philadelphia, Pa.; 1931).

[113] ⁶³ Ralph V. Chamberlain, *The Ethno-botany*
of the Gosiute Indians of Utah, MAAA Vol. II,
Part 5, pp. 329-406, p. 373 (1900) gives pi-o-ra as a
term for everlasting pea in Gosiute. The Co-
manche term may be an extension, or both may be
loans from Spanish.

⁶⁴ See footnote 62.

192 diminutive); **tomé ta?* *tomato* (tomate);
**kamú-ta?* *sweet potato, yam* (camote);
**kavú?* *goat; sheep,*³³ *mutton* (cabra);
kucára? *small spoon* (cuchara); **caré-ku?*
vest (chaleco); **ci-ra?* *pepper, chili* (chile);
more? *monte* (a card game) (monte); **naho?*
knife (navaja); **mu-ra?* *mule* (mula);
wara:ci *sandals* (huaraches); **wenu* *good*
(bueno).

With English model: **aiskrim*³⁴ *ice-cream*;
?ekí? *aere*; **icin ?ecin* (Indian) *agent*;
?uró? *law* (?u-, *its*, + *law*); *pai pie*; *paisé?*
five cents; *papko:n* *pop-corn*; *pa-re?* *barley*;
piki? *pig* (baby word); *pi:c* *beets*; *pinácl*³⁵
peanuts; *po:kA* *poker* (card game); *purí-si?*
police; *taks tax, taxes*; *tevo?* *devil*; *tehné?*
ten cents; *tinipsí* *turnips*; *to:kI* *dog* (rare);
tu:vi *two bits*, (25 cents); *kapiko?* *Kaffir*
corn; *ka:t* *God*; *ka'tin* *cotton*; *kamí:sín*
commission, (Indian) Commissioner; *ka:vic*
cabbage; *cakawe* *it's time to eat, let's eat*
(From the American slang word, chuck, or
chuckwagon); *ciki?* *chick, chicken* (baby
word); *ci:s* *cheese*; *ci:sis* *Jesus*; *hatima:re?*
hot tamale; *hato:kl* *hot dog* (rare); *hampiki?*
hamburger; *ho:kI* *hog, pork*; *senati?* *senator*;
siká:rU, *siká?* *cigar*; *sikvic* *six bits*, (75
cents); *su:ta?* *jack* (in cards) (probably from
suit); *makaró:ni?* *macaroni*; *mamá?* *mother*
(baby word); *marimé?* *Milo maize*; *mavo?*
marble; *merit millet*; *wincesti?* *Winchester*
(repeating rifle); *wit* *wheat* (rare); *wihnsé?*
one cent; *wó:stin* *Washington, (D.C.)*,
President of the United States; *waikin*
wagon.

[197] A number of place and personal names
have been taken into Comanche from
Spanish and English and are in common use.
Those listed below were familiar to even
those Comanche who had little or no knowl-

³³ Sheep is more commonly, *phikavri?* *hairy*
goat.

³⁴ Charles Detrich, Comanche Vocabulary
Collected at Fort Sill, Oklahoma, manuscript on
file at BAE (1895) gives *sweet ice* for ice-cream.

³⁵ Detrich notes *nah-vee-mee*, which he trans-
lates as *carrying double* (for peanut).

192 edge of Spanish or English. The list is representative but not exhaustive.

192 Place names from Spanish: ciwáwa?

103 Chihuahua; me'he? Mexico.

Place names from English:²² ?ahpafci Apache; ?inihúma? Indianoma; ?okohóma? Oklahoma; paksin Faxon; posto-k'i Post Oak (Mission); takin Duncan; tepo Temple; teksis Texas; totn Lawton; ca'núki Chattanooga; cikisé? Chickasaw; sinafri? Snyder; manpá-k'i Mountain Park; maro Marlow; woris Walters.

It may also be noted that a number of Comanche place names are newly coined descriptive forms: ?ekamarimí? Red Store (An old trading post 3-4 miles south of Fort Sill established ca. 1876); ?ohah-puhaknI Yellow Church (Baptist Reformed church and mission at Fort Sill, Oklahoma); pasivanarimí? Fletcher (sand town); tu'so'kwe? Anadarko (tu-, black + so-many + ?o'kwE flow + -?).

192 Personal names from Spanish: ?ombre? (hombre) man; puta? (puta) whore; tihá'no? (tejano) Texan; tirásas (Teresa); tokoyán (Don Julian, or Don Juan); tosamaria? (tosa-white + Maria); tomá'sa? (Tomas); kupá're? (compadre) godfather, friend; kuh-mahet'ó (Comanchito) Comanche (diminutive); kurú's (cruz) cross; ca-ves (Chavez); civá'to? (chivato) young kid, he-goat; wa'n (Juan).

English personal names: ?amaru? Andrew; pesi? Bessie; piriks Felix; po'o? Paul; to-me? Tommy; tu'ni? Tony; ko'ra? Cora; maili Mike; mení? Minnie; míru? Myrtle; na-ni? Nanny; nere? Nelly.

192 A list of tribal names might also be given here. The precise provenience of these terms is not clear. They may derive from English, or possibly Mexican Spanish or Indian sources: pi'avoro? Pueblo Indians;

²² All names given here refer to places in Oklahoma, except, of course, the state names Oklahoma and Texas. It may be noted that there are no Comanche names for Oklahoma City, the United States, etc.

192 *kaiwani* Kiowa (-ni may be translated
552 as *people*); *karó* Caddo; *ciksó-ni* Chickasaw;
sikapo? Kickapoo; *siminó*? Seminole; *so-*
soni? Shoshone; *navó* Navaho; *yú'ta*? Ute,
Paiute.

In contrast to the above a number of tribal names are descriptive: *?a'a-ni* Crow (*horned people*); *?esikwita* Mescalero Apache (*grey feces*); *papicimina*? Sioux (*head unjointed*); *ta-ni-ni* Kiowa-Apache (*spotted people* (from small-pox); *saritihka*? Arapaho (*dog eaters*); *sianavo* Cheyenne (*feather striped from their arrows*).

197 Early and brief French contacts have left
648 no apparent trace on Comanche. And in
spite of the wide and relatively frequent relations, both friendly and hostile, between the Comanche and other tribes of the Plains and the Southwest, only a few loanwords from other American Indian languages seem to have been taken into Comanche, and those noted are of doubtful origin. This may in part be attributed to the wide-spread use of the sign language and to what seems to have been a rather large amount of multilingualism among the Plains tribes.¹⁹

197 It seems especially noteworthy that the
Kiowa, who lived in close association with the Comanche since the close of the 18th century,²⁰ had so little direct effect on the Comanche language. One word, *?aho* *thank you*, seems to have been borrowed from Kiowa.

601 The kinship term, *haipia*, which refers to
192 siblings-in-law of the opposite sex between
197 whom the typical Plains reciprocal joking relationship obtained may, as Gladwin suggests,²¹ have been borrowed along with

¹⁹ James Mooney, *Calendar History of the Kiowa Indians*, 17th Annual Report, BAE p. 156 (Washington, D. C.; 1898), mentions that Kiowa children were often left with the Crow for 2-3 years to learn the language and thus preserve old friendships.

²⁰ James Mooney, *Calendar History of the Kiowa Indians*, 17th Annual Report, BAE p. 163 (Washington, D. C.; 1898).

²¹ Thomas Gladwin, *Comanche Kin Behavior*, AA 50: 73-94, p. 81 (1948).

[113]

[p. 231-A]

192 the custom, although he has been unable
 197 to locate a similar word in another tribe.
 [60]

The Comanche word for *corn*, *hani-vI,¹⁰³ is another word of doubtful origin. It is unanalyzable and could either be borrowed or an extension of an older word whose original meaning is lost. The Pima word hu'nI¹⁰⁴ *corn*, appears to be related. If so, the direction of diffusion would presumably be from Pima to Comanche. There are apparently no cognate forms in the more closely related Shoshonean and Southern Paiute languages.¹⁰⁴

192 Comanche loanwords are treated as native
 197 stems and are subjected to the regular
 193 morphological processes with little or no recognition of the fact that they are loanwords. As an example we might cite the following forms of *tehnse'*, from English *ten cents*: *tehnse'ni* plural; *tehnse'ma'* it is ten cents; *tehnse'wahti* without ten cents; *tetehse'* ten cents each; *tehnse'ku* add, raise ten cents (in gambling); *tehnse'veti* to the amount of ten cents; *tehnse'mati* part of ten cents; *tehnse'matims'* timi-spend part of ten cents; *tehnse'ma'ai'* together with ten cents; *nirehnse'* my ten cents; *tehnse'nihW* two dimes.

[2] Occasionally loanwords may be adopted in several of their proper grammatical forms. Nahuatl has absorbed a fairly large number of Spanish nouns in both their singular and plural forms.¹⁰⁵ English has

[113] ¹⁰³ Randolph B. Marcy, Exploration of the Red River of Louisiana in the year 1851, 32d Congress, 2d Session, (Washington, D. C.; 1853), records *hah-ne-be-tah*, possibly *hani-vti*, for *corn*.

¹⁰⁴ George Hersog, Personal Communication.

¹⁰⁵ Edward Sapir, Southern Paiute Dictionary, Proc. of the Amer. Academy of Arts and Sciences, 65: 537-730, p. 559 (Philadelphia, Pa.; 1931), gives *ni'6-pl* what is planted, for *corn* in Southern Paiute; also on p. 641, *qom'i'*, an older word is listed. Ralph V. Chamberlain, Animal Names and Anatomical Terms of the Gosiute Indians, Proceedings of the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia, 60: 74-103, p. 374 (1908), notes *komu* for *corn* in Gosiute. This is a loanword from English.

¹⁰⁶ Frans Boas, Spanish Elements in Modern

121 done the same as in *alumnus*, -i, -a, -æ.
 197 Comanche, however, has borrowed only
 192 one bare form of the word. Thus, ten cents
 [193] is used in plural forms which would not be
 permissible in English. It must also be
 remembered that the linguistic models
 presented to the Comanche were from collo-
 quial and not literary sources. The loans,
 "two bits" and "six bits" are straight from
 the vernacular. Similarly, Southern Paiute
 has taken the slang terms "nigger" for
 Negro and "taters" for potatoes into the
 language.¹⁰⁴

Loanwords have frequently been used in
 creating new compounds or descriptive
 words in Comanche. It may be assumed in
 most cases that the loanwords antedate the
 new compounds in the language. One of
 several synonyms for *pig*, *muviyo?ro?*
nose + pig (Spanish), is an example. One
 notes a degree of redundancy here which
 may, in fact, indicate that the Comanche
 are unmindful of the Spanish meaning and
 origin of *po?ro?*. The following is a repre-
 sentative list of new compounds which
 incorporate loanwords:

From Spanish: *?ekahci-ra?* red pepper;
?evihpihu-ra? greenbeans; *?evimú-ra?ya?ke?*
frog (green mule crier); *?otihtohtiya?*
ginger snaps, cookie (brown bread); *pehe-*
katipa'ní rye bread (*pehE seed + -katí* pos-
 sessor of + *pa'ní*); *?tosarohtiya?* crackers
(white bread); **ku-simura?* donkey (grey
 mule).

From English: *kunawaikin*¹⁰⁷ train; loco-
 motive; railroad (fire wagon); *ci-sísa písa*
Mary (Jesus' mother); **ho'karohovE* ham

Nahuatl, Todd Memorial Volumes: Philological
 Studies, Vol. I, (New York, 1930).

¹⁰⁴ Edward Sapir, Southern Paiute Dictionary,
 Proc. of the Amer. Academy of Arts and Sciences,
 65: 537-730, pp. 584 and 683 (Philadelphia, Pa.;
 1931).

¹⁰⁷ Charles Detrich, Comanche Vocabulary
 Collected at Fort Sill, Oklahoma, manuscript on
 file at BAE (1895), gives *koón-ah-wah-wee-poke-*
o-póy, kúna-wovivuku?apó?E fire wooden horse's
 road for railroad. He also notes *táw hawv, tohóvE*
 hindquarters for ham.

192 (hog's hindquarters); ho:ktühkapl pork;
 bacon, ham (hog food); wita-rohkni?etl
 threshing-machine (wheat thresher).

197 Since the earliest contacts of the Co-
 manche with White culture were with the
 192 Spanish we may assume that the first loan-
 words were Spanish. The exact period of
 their introduction is impossible to determine.

[191]
 [563] It seems likely, however, that this was
 largely accomplished by the middle of the
 nineteenth century. Catlin¹⁰⁶ in the 1830s
 noted the presence of Comanche who spoke
 some Spanish and by this date hundreds of
 Spanish-speaking captives had already been
 adopted into the tribe. Also, the vocabulary
 collected by Detrich in 1895 includes 12 of
 the 18 Spanish loans listed in this paper
 and no English loanwords. It must be
 mentioned, too, that any or all of the re-
 maining six Spanish loans may also have
 been in the language by this date since
 Detrich's vocabulary is by no means com-
 plete. At the present time new words from
 English are constantly filtering into the
 Comanche vocabulary while the influence
 of Spanish has waned, although Spanish-
 speaking descendants of captives are still
 listed on the tribal rolls.

Alternative forms, either English loan-
 words or descriptive terms, are in a few
 cases in more common use than the Spanish
 loanwords and are perhaps replacing them:
 ho:kl is more common for pig or bacon
 than the Spanish loan, po?ro?, the descrip-
 tive term, munua? nose mover, or muvipo?ro.
 The descriptive term for spoon, tie?awo?
 little cup, is more common than kuchra?.
 But even where there are synonyms, as
 with the words for knife, mule, bread, and
 wheat, the Spanish loanwords are the ones
 most commonly used and are firmly estab-
 lished in the language. Nine of the Spanish
 loans, however, are unique terms. It is
 interesting to note that there are but few

[113] ¹⁰⁶ George Catlin, Letters and Notes on the
 Manners, Customs and Condition of the North
 American Indians, 2 vols., Vol. 2, p. 56 (London,
 1841).

192 synonyms for English loans. Moreover,
197 several English loans such as cheese and
wagon have displaced older descriptive
terms which are now obsolescent.

From an inspection of the Spanish list it
is apparent that it is composed almost en-
tirely of words for such basic and tangible
things as foods, implements, domesticated
animals and clothing, and from this, even
if historical records were lacking, one could
assume that contact with the Spanish was
tangential. The English list is fundamentally
the same in content, and it is possible that
it paralleled the Spanish list more closely a
decade or two ago, but there is the addition
of words pertaining to the church, ad-
ministration, and a money economy. It
seems evident from the linguistic data that
Comanche contacts with these facets of
Western culture were made primarily
through the Americans, and again the his-
torical record confirms us in this.

648 The Comanche, along with many other
nomadic or semi-nomadic groups, as com-
pared with the more sedentary tribes of the
Southwest, were peripheral to the sphere of
influence of the administrators and mis-
sionaries of Colonial Spain, or more
effectively resisted their overtures, and
were relatively isolated from American
influences until the late nineteenth century.

000 This is reflected in the degree to which
Spanish loanwords have been accepted by
the Indian languages of Mexico and the
southwestern United States.¹⁰⁸ Navaho has
borrowed 32 words from Spanish,¹⁰⁹ Chiri-
cagua Apache 19,¹¹⁰ Comanche 17, and
Southern Paiute 6.¹¹¹ Nahuatl, on the other

¹⁰⁸ The estimates given below can only be ap-
proximate, but they may be taken as representa-
tive.

[113] ¹¹⁰ Franciscan Fathers, *An Ethnologic Dic-
tionary of the Navaho Language*, (St. Michaels,
Arizona; 1910).

[113] ¹¹¹ Harry Hoijer, *Chiricagua Loan-Words from
Spanish*, Lg 15: 110-115 (1939).

¹¹² Edward Sapir, *Southern Paiute Dictionary*,
Proc. of the Amer. Academy of Arts and Sciences,
65: 537-730 (Philadelphia, Pa.; 1931).

000 hand, has taken some 251 words and phrases from Spanish.¹¹² The vocabulary of Zapotec has been estimated to be 20-30% Spanish,¹¹⁴ Keresan has 100 or so Spanish loanwords,¹¹⁵ and Tso has adopted a minimum of 82 loans from Spanish.¹¹⁶ Of the Yaqui Spicer says, "Every important aspect of the culture has been penetrated by Spanish linguistic influences".¹¹⁷ And of the Pima Herzog has written, "The Spanish list (of some 120 loanwords) bears witness to the fact that the Pima acquired their contact with Western culture essentially through the Spaniards. It reads like a modest inventory of early rural or colonial life".¹¹⁸

121 4.6. Translation-borrowing is the direct and literal translation of words from one language into another. In addition to rather close and continuing contact between the speakers of the two languages, this presupposes at least a minimal amount of bilingualism among the speakers of the borrowing language. It must also be borne in mind that the models for these loans in translation must themselves be either descriptive or used metaphorically.

192 It is impossible to say in many cases
 197 whether a word is a loan-translation or a newly coined descriptive term since the same thing may have been independently named in the same way. *Automobile* in Comanche is *navukuwá*? *without its horse*, and whether this is a translation of our

¹¹² Frans Boas, *Spanish Elements in Modern Nahuatl*, Todd Memorial Volumes: Philological Studies, Vol. I (New York, 1930).

¹¹⁴ Paul Radin, *A Preliminary Sketch of the Zapotec Language*, Lg 6: 64-85 (1930).

¹¹⁵ Robert F. Spencer, *Spanish Loanwords in Keresan*, SJA 3: 130-146 (1947).

¹¹⁶ George L. Trager, *Spanish and English Loanwords in Tso*, IJAL 10: 144-158 (1944).

¹¹⁷ Edward H. Spicer, *Linguistic Aspects of Yaqui Acculturation*, AA 45: 410-426 (1943).

¹¹⁸ George Herzog, *Culture Change and Language: Shifts in the Pima Vocabulary*, in *Language, Culture and Personality: Essays in Memory of Edward Sapir*, pp. 66-74, p. 70 (Menasha, Wisconsin; 1941).

192 [197] "horseless carriage" or an independent invention cannot be determined. The examples of loan-translations given below are all from English: *ʔahpi¹⁹³ *Father (God)*; #taʔahpiʔ *Our Father*; ʔahóhtavehnItʔ *Thanksgiving Day*; ʔohahpitt¹⁹⁴ *orange (fruit)*; pihiʔ *heart (design)*; piaho:kʔ *greedy, dirty, road-hog, (big pig)*; pimoró:vahmU *Bull Durham tobacco (cattle tobacco)*; pihihaviʔ:ʔá:riʔ *sheep dog*; taʔkivihu:raʔ *kidney beans*; tahani-vʔ *corn (on foot)*; tuhtaivo:atahtokóʔ *Brazil nut, nigger toe (American slang) black man's toe*; tacinu:pʔ *star (design)*; kavirʔrahkonivapʔ *Shepherd (The Lord)*; kuhvaikatʔ *smart, brainy (kuhvaʔ brains + -katʔ possessor)*; kwási-raivo:arʔhkapʔ *coconut (monkey food possibly from American slang)*; kihta:hu:pʔ *hardwood*; kuhcutaivoʔ *cowboy (cow White man)*; napaʔe:kO *tongue (shoe) (shoe tongue)*; narimiʔ *Master*¹⁹⁵ (*Jesus*); nfmikuhcuónipʔ *buffalo grass*.

121 Folk etymology, which may be defined as the rationalization or reinterpretation even misinterpretation, of the sound or sense of a word, often in terms of an analogy with another known word, is closely related to translation-borrowing. Folk etymologies may arise internally in a language,¹⁹⁶ but frequently stem from the misunderstandings attendant upon linguistic borrowing. The following examples were found in the Comanche acculturation vocabulary.

192

¹⁹³ Julian H. Steward, *Culture Element Distributions: XXIII, Northern and Gosiute Shoshone*, *Anthropological Records* 8: 3, p. 286 (University of California, 1943), records the identical word in Shoshone.

¹⁹⁴ Charles Detrich, *Comanche Vocabulary Collected at Fort Sill, Oklahoma*, manuscript on file at BAE (1895), gives ó hah neurs awf pá, ʔohanasopa: *yellow sack water for orange*. He also notes a possible loan-translation not collected by the writer: sée quee kut sikwekatʔ *half got for half-breed*.

¹⁹⁵ This could also be considered to be an extension of the Comanche word meaning *owner* or *master* (as of slaves in the old days).

¹⁹⁶ For example, Welsh rabbit which appears earlier in English is frequently etymologized into Welsh rarebit. And, to take an example from an

192 ?otimura? oatmeal. Actually this is a loan from English, oatmeal, but the phonetically equivalent Comanche form literally means *brown mule*. The word is not in established usage; however it affords an excellent example of a folk etymology in the making.

[194] wasapé?atihkapĩ pear (bear's food). As there is no p-b distinction in Comanche pear must have been heard as bear and so translated. The food was probably added to rationalize the word. It may be noted, however, that the Comanche names for a great many plants contain the word for food, tihkapĩ.

wa?orihkapĩ catsup (cat food). This word as catsup, ketchup or catchup is probably an example of a folk etymology in English and comes from an East Indian word, kitjap.

wokorihkapĩ pineapple (pine food). While this word is similar to the two above, it is perhaps more properly an example of translation-borrowing.

197 Because of their close association and the parallelism in the later history of the Kiowa and the Comanche it seems pertinent to discuss briefly here the Kiowa acculturation vocabulary.¹²⁰ The similar roles of the two tribes as culturally and politically dominated peoples is apparently reflected in their like linguistic reactions to White influences. Kiowa has used the same devices for expanding its vocabulary and has also in a great many instances duplicated Comanche acculturation terms. In fact, one suspects that a certain amount of translation-bor-

[121] unwritten language, in Onéida lodiag, laǵéht', literally *they carry mats on their shoulders* and which means *warriors in a band under a leader, privates or common people*, has for nearly all speakers been changed to lodiag, ?ihagéht', the literal meaning of which is *they carry rust on their shoulders*. Personal communication from Floyd Lounsbury.

¹²⁰ John P. Harrington, Vocabulary of the Kiowa Language, Bulletin 84, BAE (Washington, D. C.; 1928), is the source of this material.

197 rowing has gone on between Kiowa and
 Comanche. The examples of new Kiowa
 [128] words which are given below are chosen for
 their similarity to Comanche acculturation
 terms.

Kiowa has extended old meanings to
 apply to such traits as pencil, glue, clock,
 house, chewing-gum and horse. It uses a
 modifier, meaning *real*, to distinguish
 between native and new traits just as
 Comanche uses *White man's* and *Indian's*.
 Thus, *real spoon* refers to one made of buffalo
 horn; a *real necklace* is one made of long
 bone beads; *buffalo* are *real cattle*; and *real*
sinew means *sinew* rather than *thread*.
 Many new descriptive words such as those
 for *whiskey*, *doctor*, *Sunday*, *vinegar*, *tele-*
graph, *automobile*, *fishhook*, *peach*, *beer*,
 and *pump* are exactly equivalent to the
 Comanche words for these things. And
 Kiowa, as Comanche, has borrowed *agent*,
agency, *commission*, *five cents* and *two bits*
 from English.

128 Several segments of the Comanche ac-
 culturation vocabulary, namely words per-
 taining to religion, diseases, playing cards
 and time and measure, will be presented in
 the pages to follow. These are selected as
 both interesting parts of the vocabulary
 and as examples of the amount of new
 vocabulary that has been added in repre-
 sentative areas of culture affected by White
 influences. Other sub-vocabularies such as
 those for foods and implements would, of
 course, bulk larger in the total vocabulary.
 While new descriptive compounds pre-
 dominate, a few meaning extensions and
 loan-translations are also listed. Aside from
 a few minor omissions and words entered
 elsewhere in this paper, the lists are in all

¹²⁴ Charles Detrich, Comanche Vocabulary
 Collected at Fort Sill, Oklahoma, manuscript on
 file at BAE (1895), notes a related word containing
tu-kwasikat black, has a tail.

¹²⁵ In this and other words in which *taivo* is
 used it is perhaps better translated as *man*, other
 than *Indian*. It invariably denotes belonging to an
 alien way of life.

128 likelihood relatively complete and contain most of the words collected.

192 RELIGION: ?áikurahánipl sin (bad deed); ?á'hkati kehinarokweháni-tl devil (got horns, doesn't do anything right); puhaniwiniA religious camp meeting (puha supernatural power + niwini- speak to a group + -nA, verbal suffix); tá'ahpi'a tékwapha rúawe:tl sermon (telling God's word); tá'ahpiwakatu kwico'aipl redeemed (saved by God); tap'hi-vin communion (drinking blood); tatohtiy-arihkan communion (eating bread); tapó'sa-hanipI sin (our crazy deed); tasó'patko'ive? The Flood (when many were drowned); *tanáwawihitia'e'nA baptism (water poured on one); tanárimi?ayici? resurrection (Our Master flew); tanárimi'ma'ai yika'eti? disciples (those who go with Our Master); tinihni'kepl parable (illustrate by talking); tomo'va?atl Heaven (on top of the sky); tu'kwaaitaivo-?124 devil (black tailed White man); *kasaraivo-?125 angel (winged White man); ku'enavawihiti?apl Methodists, Presbyterians and other Protestant denominations that sprinkle baptismal water on the head (water poured on top); sokorohkatI pikhina-wéhanA Hell (under the earth, place of fire); suavevuhavaraivo? Catholic priest (Catholic leader) (4.1) suavema tanárimi'a tatáwina? Crucifixion (on the cross Our Master nailed); nahsuthaipiI prayer (name bless); *nawa-wihitiapl Christian (water poured on); nahsuwikai? nahapiI miracle (wonderful happening); namaváku'nepI Baptist (immersed in water); nimisúthai have mercy on us! (pity us!).

DISEASES: ?amawihmina? pneumonia ([newer word, see below] side sickness); ?ewiwihmina? flu (green sickness); ?ekarasi?A measles (red spots); ?ohahuhcini? yellow fever, typhoid (?oha- yellow + kuh-by heat + cini soak through + -, nominalizer); ?o'ni? tuberculosis, cough (?), see ?o'I to vomit); pahowihmina? tuberculosis (fatigue sickness); pihiwihmina? heart disease (heart sickness); pihná-wihmina? diabetes (sugar sickness); pisipl venereal disease (gangrene, or any pus infection; rotten flesh);

192 pi^hpaasapI anemia (dried blood); pi^wih^to^oin tuberculosis (vomiting blood); pi^wih^mina^o high blood pressure (blood sickness); tasi^oA small pox, chicken pox (sore places, skin infection, hives, etc.); tie^oekatAsi^oA¹²⁴ measles (little small pox); ti^vana^owih^mina^o pneumonia, pleurisy (older word) chest sickness); kohikahmkatI dysentery (intestine pain); *cipI^o gonorrhea (rotten penis); ci^hci^o? whooping cough (cough all the time); cuhnivasapI rickets (dried up bones); cuhni^owih^mina^o rheumatism (bone sickness); so^oo^ovekwi^opI mumps (cheeks swollen); nimicá^o?to^oponi^oe^otI meningitis (makes you round [doubled up]); nimivui^ovikha^o? trachoma (Indian's eye disease); nimitúhki^o? tühka^oe^otI cancer (your flesh eaten).

PLAYING CARDS.¹²⁵ *waná^osi^o? playing cards (little pieces of cloth); wanarohpetin to play cards, old Comanche game (to throw down on a blanket with the fist); *watasI ace (origin unknown, possibly from English ace); ?ohahkuya^o? king (yellow carried on the head) (4.1); tanesi^o? king (fellock) (4.1); wa^oihpi^o? queen (woman); surta^o? jack (from English, suit [?]). (The cards numbered 1 to 10 are called by the regular Comanche numerals.) naroh^otima^o? joker (lid, cover [so-called because the joker is on top in a new pack of cards]); ná^o?vutitfikatI joker (males with anything); watasiatáka^o? joker (ace's brother); kasama^ohr clubs (one who has bushy, uncombed hair [compare kasA wing]); kinavo^ohr diamonds (corner shaped); pihinavo^ohr hearts (heart shaped); tahkanna^ovo^ohr spades (spear shaped); ti^himapi^o hand in cards; rations (ti^hima to draw a share of something); ti^vA bet! (meaning extended); narivapi^o ante, pot (its bet); to^on or to^ohkatini^o? to stand pat, no more cards (to graze); ti^owai^o? solitaire (to drive game from cover); more^o? monte (monte [Spanish]);

¹²⁴ Charles Detrich, Comanche Vocabulary Collected at Fort Sill, Oklahoma, manuscript on file at BAE (1895), gives tá^or^o-see-ah wo mee nok et, tasi^o?awihminak^otI spot sickness.

¹²⁵ The words given here and under Time and Measure are not listed alphabetically.

192

navinsin *monte* (to choose); po'kA poker (poker [English]); nanahaka?nihW a pair [in poker] (two brothers); pahinanahtaka?ni three of a kind (three brothers); manekiku/rihima'hr full house (five hand [manekit] is an obsolescent word for five)).

TIME AND MEASURE. piashimhtl thousand (big hundred); cuku?simihtl million (old hundred); navuhiwl price (its money); ?eka?puhiwl cent (red money); ?usikwe'v half dollar (its half); *tumanahke? yardstick, ruler, gauge, any measuring unit, pattern (see manakE measure, imitate); simirimanahke? inch (one measuring unit); simiyutimanahke? inch (one common measuring unit); napetimanahke? foot (foot measuring unit); siminahmAsoma'hr¹²⁹ one yard (simi-one + nah- reflexive + ma-, by hand + soma-, fold back + -(V)hr, verbal suffix); *sokoricipI mile (one land count); sihi?awotihpetl¹³⁰ a bushel (willow cup measure); naraya-ki? scales (na-, reflexive + taya- to lean + -ki, causative + -?); siminara-ki? pound (one scaled); simiravekwihne¹³¹ hour (one clock turn); pipekuma?tri?ina degree [of heat] (how hot it is); *miarivopI calendar, almanac (moon paper); simivuharsai week, one week (one Sunday); *puharavenitl¹³¹ Sunday (see 4.1); tapuharai/hapfeckU Monday (day after Sunday); tapuharahva?atu/

¹²⁹ Said to come from measuring cloth from the bolt.

¹³⁰ The word for bushel basket, sihi?awo willow cup is probably an extension of an old Plateau word for a basketry olla. See Julian H. Steward, Culture Element Distributions: XIII, Nevada Shoshone, Anthropological Records, 4: 2, p. 241 (University of California, 1941).

¹³¹ There are no words for minute or second.

¹³² Terms for the days of the week in many North American Indian languages are similar to Comanche in taking Sunday as a point of reference for naming the other days of the week. See A. I. Hallowell, Temporal Orientation in Western Civilization and in a Preliterate Society, AA 39: 647-670 (1937), especially the sections, "Acculturation of Time-pieces" and "Named Days and the Week."

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 805
 171
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192 wáhabávič Tuesday (slept twice after Sunday); tapúharaihva'atu/páhihávič Wednesday (slept three times after Sunday); tapúharaihva'atu/háyarokwihávič Thursday (slept four times after Sunday); tapúharaihva'atu/mó'ove'kahávič Friday (slept five times after Sunday); tihimAh-ravenIt¹²² Friday (rationing day); tievuharavenIt Saturday (little Sunday); tikiromon New Year's Day (new or fresh year (tomO may mean either year or winter)); ko'korá'/nóyopikhratfhka'enA Easter (when one customarily eats chicken eggs); pikhrapiarhka'enA Thanksgiving Day (when there is big eating); pikhrako'korá'a'rhka'enA Thanksgiving Day (when one eats chicken); pikhrawá'cinika'enA Christmas (pikhrá-wen + wa: (pI) cedar + ci- with a point + nika- push into + -e, habitual verbal

[657] ¹²² Up until about 1900 the Government used to issue clothes, groceries, utensils, meat, etc., to the Comanche on Fridays. This is more common than the alternative word for Friday above.

192 suffix + -nA, verbal suffix); wa:cinikapĩ
Christmas (cedar tree put up).

197 The acculturation vocabulary described
192 in the preceding pages represents the growing
point of the Comanche language. It will
undoubtedly be augmented as time goes
on, but at what will presumably be a
diminishing rate. Although these are words
of quite recent origin, there is reason to
believe that once accepted in the language
they are relatively stable. Of the 196 ac-
culturation terms in the 1895 Detrich
vocabulary 170 are identical to those col-
lected by the author. These are marked
with an asterisk in the lists above. Eighteen,
while recognizably similar, vary somewhat
from their later form and 7 are completely
different from words collected in 1940.
The latter are words for *fork*, *glue*, *hoe*,
peanut, a second word for *bean*, and two
terms for *potatoes*. The remaining word is
that for *quinine*, tosanacu?U while *medi-*
cine, for which no word was collected by
the author.

[p. 237-B]

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(1940) 1954

N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

∞ International Journal of American Linguistics

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VOLUME 21

1955

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Published at the Waverly Press, Inc.
Mt. Royal and Guilford Aves.,
Baltimore 2, Md.
by Indiana University
under the auspices of
Linguistic Society of America
American Anthropological Association
with the cooperation of
Joint Committee on American Native Languages

000 COMANCHE LINGUISTIC ACCULTURATION III

JOSEPH B. CASAGRANDE

WASHINGTON, D. C.

5. Some other effects of acculturation on Comanche language and speech
- 5.1. Comanche bilingualism
6. On Comanche personal names
7. Theoretical conclusions

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192

5. At the same time that Comanche has added new vocabulary, old words have been sloughed off or have become obsolescent.¹²³ Even when the word remains, as is the case with many meaning extensions, knowledge of the original referent is often lost. Just as the average American today has little acquaintance with terms for the parts of a horse's harness, types of horse-drawn vehicles, or sailing ships and their rigging, the Comanche lost a wealth of terms for such things as basketry types, various weaves¹²⁴ and implements such as the metate and mano, and fishtraps when they entered the Plains. Similarly, words for traits of Plains culture lost or displaced in the transition to Western culture are rapidly disappearing from the language, as is the full and colorful vocabulary of plant and animal names of a people who for centuries had lived by hunting and food-gathering. However, owing to both the conservatism of language and the memories of men, old traits, customs and beliefs are often fossilized in words and may be recovered by means of a little linguistic archaeology.

The following is a representative list of half-forgotten words:

192

?e:nA *jerk meal*(!); ?ohahpiya? *wasp*
(*yellow carried behind*); ?ohana?supé? *wild*
gourd (yellow ball) [A gourd was formerly

¹²³ D. D. Lee, *The Linguistic Aspects of Wintu: Acculturation*, AA 45: 435-440, pp. 436-40 (1943), discusses this point.

¹²⁴ See Julian H. Steward, *Culture Element Distributions: XIII, Nevada Shoshone*, *Anthropological Records*, 4: 2, pp. 239 and 241, (1941).

- 192 used in various ball games]; ¹⁹² *titanucl tipi* pegs; *paya:pE* an edible tuber; *puhanahm-nuapI* costume for Sun Dance (medicine clothes); *puhkuhci?* contrary one (The Comanche shared the general Plains trait of institutionalized contrary behavior); *ta?siw6?* buffalo (feet dragging) [Used more commonly for buffalo by older Comanche than *kuhcU* or *nimikuhcU*]; *tat6?cl¹⁹³* spider (our brother-in-law); *pihire?el* tarantula (hairy brother-in-law [spider]); *tamakwasu?* buckskin dress decorated with elk teeth (tooth dress); *tivahpI* pinon nuts; *tikehkwa?I* a hunting party out to secure an immediate supply of meat; *kwahinacu?U* plover (back medicine); *kwi?nai* eagle (Said to be an older word for eagle than *piabuhcu?*, big bird); *cihavihka?I* to be menstruating (to become starved) [Women were supposed to fast while menstruating]; *cuhnikorohkU* bone breastplate; *so?me?* tanned buffalo hide; *haiv-yI* helldiver (probably haic friend + *pi-yi* duck. Said to be a sacred bird and a common guardian spirit); *hi?o-wihturu?A* windbreak of dead sunflower stalks;¹⁹⁴ *buhkU* collarbone, flute made of a collarbone; *mi* custom of giving away surplus food; *narohpa?* medicine given one by a supernatural (na-, reflexive *tohpa* dig out + *-?*, nominalizer); *nac6hkwe?* mesquite (see *cohkwe* to pound; mesquite beans were pounded into a mush and eaten); *namavic6?ni?* mesquite (to

¹⁹³ This and the following word must be understood with reference to the reciprocal joking relationship between Comanche brothers-in-law. Thomas Gladwin, *Comanche Kin Behavior*, AA 50: 73-94, p. 87 (1948), gives our testicles and our smell of dog's urine as common phrases substituted for this relationship term.

¹⁹⁴ Windbreaks are a Shoshone trait, Julian B Steward, *Culture Element Distributions*: XXIII. Northern and Gosiute Shoshone, *Anthropological Records* 8: 3, p. 272 (University of California, 1943).

192 squeeze juice out; a soup was made of juice
[262] from mesquite pods); naninasu'aitl taboo
against mentioning the name of a dead person;
niepl tornado, a mythical big red bat; wiru?
owl; wo'anacu?U ragweed (back-bone medi-
cine) woinU flute (Applied now to the mod-
ern flute); yu'ane? bull-roarer (Used by
medicine-men and in peyote ceremonies).

825 Especially noteworthy in Comanche is a
well-defined pattern of synonymous animal
terms which figure prominently in stories,
myths and songs. Their abundance in the
language indicates a knowledge of and in-
terest in animal life which may in part be
a relic of an earlier Shoshonean cultural
tradition. Also, animal names were fre-

825
551 quently used in Comanche personal names
and the strong taboo on using words asso-
ciated with a dead person's name may have
resulted in the creation of new metonymical
terms which then became established in the
language. These synonymous animal names

825 are frequently descriptive or they may re-
flect a folk belief or attitude toward the
animal in question. A list of these various
terms for a number of familiar animals
follows:

Bear: parua?; wasape?; wira?;¹⁷ 'oha-
mukwe?ya'hr something yellow [feces] smeared
on his nose; piarāpanakatl has big soles;
pihisoy? hair hanging down; tu'piarai?
black big anus.

Coyote: ce'na?; 'isa false, deceitful;
'oha'ahnakatl has yellow armpits; kawosa
(The meaning of this word was given by one
informant as something like has a bag of
tricks); kihwria? drooler; narimiwahtl has
no owner (as compared with a dog).

Collontail Rabbit: 'eka'e're? red nape;
tiehtavu'kina? little rabbit (jackrabbit);
hu'tavu'kina? wood rabbit; na'nohka? can
be baked; yu'naivih? soft hair.

Opossum: pe'aino'a? pregnant outside;

¹⁷ The first three unanalyzable words may
originally have referred to different species. See
Julian H. Steward, Basin-Plateau Aboriginal
Sociopolitical Groups, BAE-B 120, pp. 274-83
(1938).

825 *pacikwasi?* bare tail; *piwiya?ino-hr* carries his own rope (The opossum is reputed to choke chickens and turkeys to death with his tail).

Raccoon: *parú:kU* water animal (?); *tu?pa?wehni?* black hanging down (from the cheeks); *cuñniwi?* A bone penis.

Mourning Dove: *?eka?omo?* red legs; *pasahó?* (Possibly related to *passpi* dried up. One informant suggested the word referred to the dove's habitat, i.e., dry creek beds and river bottoms where there was standing timber and driftwood); *ku?ewó?*; *na?yanimait?* lazy one (Because the mourning dove builds a loose nest and lays only one egg).

While the dog was of paramount importance to the Comanche, only one synonym, *wo?woki?* barker, in addition to the usual word for dog, *sari?*, was found. It may be noted, however, that dogs were individually and fondly named.

[552]

It is interesting to observe that a number of newly introduced animals, including the chicken, have similarly received several names.

Pig: *po?ro?* (from Spanish, *puerco*); *ho:ki* (from English, *hog*); **muvipo?ro?* (nose + *po?ro?*); *munua?* nose mover.

Mule: *mu?ra?* (from Spanish, *mula*); *to?moci?* (from *to?moci* sharp-pointed hoof); *mī-wari?ipi?* (This word was explained by one informant as meaning, "when you get to a point where you can't do anything more with a thing", and referring to the mule's sterility.)

Elephant: *?esi?inī?* grey animal; *mu?kwi-puna?* nose curled up; *mū-pichatinó-wapi* carries things for *mupic*¹²⁸ (a legendary giant).

Chicken: *ko:ko?*; *ko:korá?á?*; *tá:ya?ke?* dawn crier (rooster); *?ona?ai?* use salt (A chicken's pecking is likened to shaking salt).

5.1. Comanche bilingualism.

The whole range of bilingualism is to be

¹²⁸ Charles Detrich, *Comanche Vocabulary* Collected at Fort Sill, Oklahoma, manuscript on file at BAE (1895) gives only *mupic* for elephant.

191 found among the 2400 or so Comanche, and
there is a complete inversion as one de-
scends through the generations as to which
is other and which mother tongue. Most old
191 people over 60 speak little or no English,
561 while most young people under 30 speak
little or no Comanche. Grandchild and
grandparent, as among immigrant groups
in this country, often have real difficulty
in communicating and the breach between
generations who know different ways of
life is thereby widened. Although most
Comanche between the ages of 30 and 60
are bilingual, the number who are equally
fluent in both English and Comanche is
relatively small. They are mainly men and
a few women between the ages of 40 and
55; the generation that stands midway be-
tween the old culture and the new. A few
Comanche descendants of Mexican captives
speak Spanish in addition to English and
Comanche.

191 The degree of fluency in English of any
563 individual Comanche provides what is
121 probably a fairly reliable index of his rela-
191 tive acculturation to American culture
177 patterns. This is perhaps best measured,
not by some formalized test of his knowledge
of English, but rather by observing his
choice of language and his command of it
in various speech situations ranging from
the intimacy of a family or other primary
group, on the one hand, to casual associa-
tions in religious, economic or administra-
tive contexts on the other.¹²⁰ Or the prob-
lem might be reversed and the Comanche
spoken by younger individuals in various
social contexts could be observed. Such
observations when correlated with variables
of personality and status would be of con-

(113) ¹²⁰ See Felix Gross, *Language and Value Changes among the Arapaho*, LIAL 17.10-17 (1951); George Barker, *Social Functions of Language in a Mexican-American Community*, *Acta Americana* 5.185-202 (1947); and especially Uriel Weinreich, *Languages in Contact: Findings and Problems* (New York, 1953); Einar Haugen's definitive two volume study, *The Norwegian Language in America* (Philadelphia, 1953).

[2] siderable interest and value to students of the psychological and sociological aspects of acculturation. It may be noted that in speaking among themselves our interpreters used both English and Comanche, although, significantly, in lighter moods they seemed to prefer Comanche.

[19] The English spoken by the Comanche is, of course, patterned after the local Oklahoma American dialect and ranges from an acceptable standard English to the scant pidgin of an elder trading at a village store. The English vocabulary of one informant¹⁰⁰ was seasoned with such expressions as "heap", "no savvy" and "me catchem". But for "ugh!" his English vocabulary fitted perfectly the stock comic strip version of an Indian's broken English. English has as yet no literary tradition among its Comanche speakers and the participation of most Comanche in American culture is at best little more than marginal. One is forcibly struck by the contrast between the colorful and subtle Comanche as spoken by the elders or as it is retained in traditional literature and songs¹⁰¹ and the meager English of the young.

[177]

Comanche habits of speech can often be detected in the English of bilinguals, particularly those who learned English as a second language. These habits were especially intrusive in the pronunciation of English words, though apparent as well in word order, in the choice of words and their use in a Comanche-like sense. Thus, one interpreter, T, pronounced marrow as ma'. J pronounced jello, jero, and could make no distinction in enunciating meal and mule. In many instances it would, however, be

¹⁰⁰ This individual, a gap-toothed and bow-legged old man of seventy odd, was a buffoon by temperament. He had been a jockey and a tolerated hanger-on among White ne'er-do-wells who were his probably amused mentors in the English language.

¹⁰¹ See D. B. Shimkin, *Shoshone I: Linguistic Sketch and Text*, LJAL 15: 175-188 (1947); and David McAllester, *Peyote Music*, VFPA No. 13 (New York, 1930).

[113]

191 difficult to discover whether deviations from customary English usage were due to the influence of Comanche or simply to a faulty knowledge of English.

Similarly, the Comanche of younger people for whom English is a first language has undergone a great deal of simplification. It rather than English is the foreign tongue. The final glottal stop, whispered vowel or aspiration is often pruned off, and affixes, which carry the burden of nice semantic distinctions, are used carelessly or, in some cases, entirely omitted. Modern words which are often descriptive are frequently substituted for old ones and many more English words creep into the Comanche of the younger persons. English expressions are often uncomfortably clothed in Comanche phrases. All this is deplored by the elders who frequently complained about the impoverishment and contamination of their native tongue. One younger interpreter who was less adept in Comanche than English was constantly corrected by an older man who was something of a stickler for good Comanche usage.

The bilingual speaker in his role of interpreter is an important language creator.

191
794 Sermons in the Indian churches are for the most part preached in English by a White minister and translated extemporaneously by the native deacon or lay brother a few

191 sentences at a time. The performance of this function by J was especially skillful. Beyond what official questioning of older Indians occurs, there is little other formal interpreting, yet on countless informal occasions these bilinguals act as linguistic go-betweens, mediators of the old culture and the new. Finally, it may be remarked that our interpreters displayed a great deal of interest in comparing their translations and discussing finer points of meaning.

[124]

English has had another rather different influence on Comanche. Many of the younger Comanche feel that the speech of the older people is vulgar, an attitude that reflects the adoption by the Comanche of a White

[172]
[195]

191 sense of propriety and prudishness, and
 195 there has been a direct extension of English
 [177] word taboos to the native speech which is
 unashamed and forthright. However, one inter-
 preter who was a devout Christian was an
 exception. He had little hesitation in supply-
 ing or using a sexual vocabulary in Coman-
 che yet was extremely embarrassed at utter-
 ing the vulgar English equivalents.

A new euphemistic descriptive word for
feces or *urine*, na'ro'ipI (na-, reflexive +
 to'i come out, + -pI, nominalizer), which
 can be translated as *waste matter*, has been
 substituted for the old word for *feces*,
 kwitapI, both in compounds such as the
 words for toilet-paper, toilet or chamber pot
 and also when it occurs alone. One of the
 older men laughed when asked about the
 word, but granted its position in the lan-
 guage. A milder word for *cheese*, kihtavicipl,
hard milk, or the English loanword, *ci's*, is
 usually heard in place of ko'avicipl *groin*
 [551] *milk*, or ko'akwana? *groin smell*. Similarly,
 the coarse or obscene meanings of many
 Comanche personal names are frequently
 disguised by slight alterations in form.¹⁴¹ A
 comparable effect has been noted in Musko-
 gee: "Certain Muskogee words are avoided
 when white people are around because they
 contain syllables that might be mistaken
 for some of the English "four-letter"
 words".¹⁴² To the writer's knowledge the
 same thing is not found in Comanche,
 probably because the phonetics of the
 language aren't quite as likely to give rise to
 such interpretations.

198 Finally, we may ask why no pidgin or
 creolized version of Spanish or English
 arose among the Comanche or, in fact,
 among other North American Indian tribes,
 since these marginal languages are so preva-
 lent in other parts of the world.¹⁴³ The
 answer, albeit briefly and inadequately

¹⁴¹ Mary R. Haas, personal communication.

¹⁴² See John E. Reinecke, *Marginal Languages*
 —A Sociological Study of the Creole Languages
 and Trade Jargons. Ph.D. dissertation (Yale
 University, New Haven; 1937).

- 198 stated, is probably that the conditions under which these forms of speech flourish were absent. A relatively stabilized tangential relationship between a dominant and subordinate people as between master and slave or servant, missionary and convert, or trader and native seems necessary for the formation of a pidgin or creolized language. Such a relationship never held between the Comanche and Whites for any length of time and no true pidgin ever developed.
- 197 Comanche is a dying language. It is being steadily eclipsed by English which today
- 191 has a new and relentless prestige. Another
- 177 50 to 75 years may see Comanche cease to function as a living language. The constant contact with Whites, the teaching of English in the schools and, due to the fact that the Comanche live on scattered allotments, the lack of an integrated community or tribal life comparable to that of the Pueblo or Reservation tribes, are all factors in the evanescence of the language. English is the language of the dominant culture, the language through which one gets on in the world by means of widening social, economic and political contacts. Though it is doomed, the language is far and away the most vitally functioning part that remains of the old Comanche culture. Other traits are gone, empty and broken forms, or compromises with the new. Comanche today affords ample evidence of the flexibility and tenacity of language in the face of pressure from a dominant culture.
- 121 6.0. Personal names, along with kinship terminology,¹⁰⁰ represent a segment of culture where custom and language are virtually inseparable, and it seems especially appropriate in a study of linguistic acculturation to describe the effects of contacts with Western culture on Comanche personal names. To provide a basis for comparison between the old and new practices,
- 128

¹⁰⁰ Thomas Gladwin, *Comanche Kin Behavior*, AA 50: 73-94 (1948) discusses Comanche kinship terms.

128 a brief ethnographic account of the old naming customs will first be given.

SS3 6.1. Comanche personal names were bestowed in a variety of ways and frequently in rather casual fashion. In rather sharp contrast to our practice, a person could in his lifetime successively bear several different names, or be known by several different sobriquets at any one given time.

SS1 Little distinction was made between male and female names, although some plainly did refer to male or female characteristics. Women's names, however, tended to be more permanent.

[SS3]

While almost from birth an infant could be called by a pet name or nickname which was often kept until adolescence, a child could also simply be called by the word for *boy*, *pihia?*, or *girl*, *nai?A*. It was not uncommon for a person to be called by a status term designating age and sex, or by a kinship term, in lieu of his personal name.

SS3

However, a youngster would usually receive a given name in early childhood, although one informant stated that he was not given such a name until he was ten years old. A child's parents in modest ceremony would customarily call in an elder or two to relate stories and choose as a name some word descriptive of an incident or character in the tale. A name could also come from some incident in a person's life which subsequently came to be associated with him.

SS1
[SS3]

In some instances a child was named after a parent, relative or other person, but because of the taboo against using the name of a dead person, only if he or she was still alive. Or, alternatively, a boy could, in familiar European fashion, be called "son of so and so". Only in the latter case was there anything comparable to the use of paternal surnames.

SS3
SS1

Nicknames derived from physical peculiarities or temperamental idiosyncrasies were frequently bestowed and could be given at almost any point in the life cycle from babyhood on. In line with the inst

[602]

[p. 243-B]

553 tutionalized joking relationship, such nick-
551 names were usually given by an in-law,
602 and more frequently than not were derogatory or had some sexual or obscene reference.

553 A young man would often receive a new name after he had proven himself on his first war party. Or, a young warrior, who aspired to the name of an old man who had been a famous warrior, could ask permission of the oldster to become his namesake. The old man might then put the youth to the test of equalling a feat well remembered by the people. If the youth met the test, the old man would be compelled to give up his illustrious name and use a former one.

533 In earlier times names along with other
787 gifts were bestowed through visitations by
776 supernatural spirits who were sought out
[178] by fasting and dreaming in secluded places. This practice, however, seems to have been in eclipse as early as 1870, although many older Comanche still bear names given them by their guardian spirits. Thus, Comanche names may be characterized as varied and highly individual, a fact which reflects Comanche emphasis on the worth and variety of the individual personality.

551 6.2. By a study of the 2394 Comanche
177 names on the January 1940 census rolls
[161] one may trace, from the older through the younger generations, the adoption of the White system of patronymics and the consequent displacement of the native naming patterns described above. This shift was accomplished largely within the past seventy-odd years dating from the early reservation period. Rollcalls, the taking of vital statistics and census data, intermarriage with Whites, rationing, attendance at schools and churches, orthodox baptisms, trading, and the casual bestowal of personal names by the Whites were all factors instrumental in the change.

551 Although the rolls were called every three
177 days, the men by name and the women and
657 children by count, as early as 1875, the first formal census was taken in 1890 and names of Indians "had to be definitely decided

[p. 244-A]

551 upon and so listed. . . . each Indian was re-
177 quired to give the name he preferred and he
657 was encouraged to keep it".¹⁴⁴ "Grass
[434] money", which was collected from White
stockmen for grazing privileges on reserva-
tion land, was paid twice a year to each
family according to the number of its mem-
bers. This entailed a complete census each
time and much struggling by officials with
difficult Indian names was reported.

In an effort to systematize Indian names
for the purpose of facilitating land allot-
ments, etc., the Office of Indian Affairs is-
sued a circular dated December 1, 1902, set-
ting forth a number of rules governing the
recording of Indian names on agency roles
and their use in documents and for other
official purposes: (1) The father's name
should be the family surname; (2) The
Indian name, unless too long and clumsy,
should be preferred to a translation; (3) A
clumsy name could be arbitrarily shortened
by one familiar with the language, provided
its identity was not lost; (4) If the use of a
translation seemed necessary, or if the use of
a translation had come into such general
and accepted use that it ought to be re-
tained, that name should be written as one
word.¹⁴⁵ Though these rules were not always
strictly followed for the Comanche, they
probably accelerated and gave direction to
changes already begun. In legal and
administrative contexts such as land allot-
ment, distribution of tribal income, in-
heritance, marriage, hospitalization, en-
rollment in boarding schools and voting, in
short, as the Indians became more and more
involved with the ways of the Whites, a
fixed legal name became increasingly essen-
tial.

551 Every phase of the transition in naming

¹⁴⁴ Martha L. Buntin, *History of the Kiowa, Comanche and Wichita Indian Agency*, M.A. Thesis, p. 100, University of Oklahoma, Dept. of History (Norman, Oklahoma; 1931).

¹⁴⁵ F. W. Hodge, *Handbook of American Indians* BAE-B 30, Vol. II, p. 18 (Washington, D. C.; 1910).

SS1 practices can be noted in the list of Comanche names. First, there are 175 individuals listed on the rolls by Comanche given names only. Thus, Tahkony, ta'koni? *one who heads something off*, a man of 72, is married to Ni he vah, naiviwa? *one with no beauty*, 73. Of these 175 persons,¹⁰⁰ 107 are women with an average age of 67.9 years and an age range of 44-103 years; 68 are men with an average age of 63.9 and a range of 41-85 years. The average age for both men and women is 66.3 years. Fourteen of the men have alternative Christian given names or given names and a surname after the father. Tooahnipah, tuini'pi? *young man*, 57, also has the name Wilson Simmons; Mahvouchuky, mavicu'ki? *one who rubs with the flat of the hand*, a man of 50, is also known as Wylie Yellowfish after his father. Which of these alternative names is preferred by either Indians or Whites differs from case to case. A few women also have additional names. Ukapitty, Ti'kivetit? *new daughter*, a woman of 56, has the alternative name Yellowback, which belonged to her father. It is probable that more persons have such supplementary names, especially first names by which they are known to Whites, but these do not appear on the agency rolls. Conversely, a great many younger people also have Comanche names though they are seldom used and are not recorded.

[553] The names of a considerable number of women, as they are given on the census list, reflect the process of change in some detail. Nellie Tis so yo, tiso'yo? *one who has confidence in someone else*, 59, is the married name of Wuth take wabbitty, wihitkwavi'ti? *arrives and strikes*. This is probably one of the earliest instances of a woman officially assuming the name of her husband at marriage, although among her friends and relatives, as is often the case, she is known by her own Comanche name. Josie Tanishoti, tanisutai? *one who is loved*, is the married name of a woman of 47. Her maiden name

¹⁰⁰ Females constitute 51.5% of the 1940 Comanche population of 2394.

SS1 was Tittarritsa Namiquau from titarihci? *wee little one*, and namakweyui? *one who strips himself*. The former was her own given name, the latter was her father's name. The Josie was acquired sometime after she had received her Comanche name, possibly at school or upon her marriage.

As near as can be determined from the rolls there are some 37 instances where the Christian name of a woman is not recorded until her marriage. The average age of these women is approximately 47 years. One more example might be given: Clou Pakahwy, pa?kahwi? *one who throws an arrow*, is the married name of a woman of 52 whose maiden name is listed as Towakah Permamsu from tu-wiká? *crow*, and pihimahmsu? *one who rejects a bunch of hides*, her father's name. The Clou is a Comanche mispronunciation of her own given name, Crow, translated into English.

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177
[128] Since no person over 41 is listed on the census rolls as bearing only a Comanche name, presumably the shift to the new naming system was effected by 1900. The accompanying table shows in some detail the rate of change through the years it spanned. Although the sample is small, the asymmetrical rise in the per cent of persons having Comanche given names at the age-interval 65-69 years probably reflects the turbulent conditions of the years 1871-75. These were years of unrest just preceding and during the confinement of the Comanche to the Fort Sill Reservation; years marked by the last raids and fighting with the Whites, and by an abortive messianic outbreak in 1873.¹⁰⁷ It is also apparent from the table that the women lagged considerably behind the men in acquiring the White system of onomastics.

SS1 At the present time the pattern of using given first names derived from American models and family surnames is in full sway. The family names are for the most part derived from the male line, usually from the

[113] ¹⁰⁷ E. A. Hoebel, *The Comanche Sundance and Messianic Outbreak of 1873*, AA 43: 301-303 (1941)

11: Casagrande E,L-5 (1940) 1954. N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

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177
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TABLE 1

Age Interval	No. of Persons			Number of Persons with Comanche Given Names Only			Number of Persons with Christian Given Names and Family Names			Per Cent of Persons Having Comanche Names Only		
	M	F	Both	M	F	Both	M	F	Both	M	F	Both
40-44	53	46	99	3	2	5	50	44	94	5.7	4.3	5
45-49	43	50	93	3	6	9	40	44	84	7	13	9.7
50-54	28	27	55	6	5	11	22	22	44	22	18.5	20
55-59	29	34	63	8	14	22	21	20	41	28	41	35
60-64	19	25	44	8	19	27	11	6	17	42	76	61
65-69	24	14	38	18	13	31	6	1	7	75	93	82
70-74	17	21	38	11	17	28	6	4	10	65	81	74
75-79	14	17	31	9	15	24	5	2	7	64	88	77
80 and over	3	16	19	2	16	18	1	0	1	67	100	95
Totals.....	230	250	480	68	107	175	162	143	305			

[P. 246-A]

551 fathers or grandfathers of those who bear these newly established surnames. In no case does a surname stem from farther back than the third generation. Occasionally the surname is taken from the maternal line, from an aunt in one instance, but this is not the rule except in cases of illegitimacy or divorce. The adoption of a person's own Comanche given name as a surname along with an American first name is quite common, e.g., Casper Tis so yo, in which *tisoyó?* *one who has confidence in someone else*, is the Comanche given name of this man of 69. Family names are usually kept in their full original form, but with the agency's rendition of them in English spelling appearing on the rolls; for example, Harry Tobits *ser kumah, tivickuma? real male, or husband*; Lena Suah rah o lah, *suará?ura? one who meets somebody intentionally*; Carmelita Delphine Atetewuthakewa, *?eti-whitkwa? one who strikes with a bow*; Olive Chahtosiebitten, *cahto?ivitin, one who pulls something out on his arrival*; and Cecil Ahtooowocmerahle, *?otiwisará-ki? brown ears pricking up*.

Comanche names are only infrequently translated into English and these are for the most part medicine-animal names: Frank Redelk, Violet Yellowfish, Vincent Red Bird, Olive Black Otter, Lelia Yellowwolf, Thuma (from Therma) Chicken, and Philip

SSI Lookingglass may be cited. Among the Indians themselves the Comanche form is usually in more common usage.

The length in translation of many of the names, their common sexual reference, and their frequent unflattering or cryptic meanings would tend to preclude translation in a good many instances. Geanell Yokesuite, *yoksuwaiti one who attempts to have intercourse*; Strudwick Tahsequaw, *tasikwana? vagina smell*; Ella Nahdooanipah, *na?ruinihpi? only boy in the family*; Julia Monocassy, *moná'si? son-in-law*; Rachel Noyobad, *noyowahtl no testicles*; Kenneth Milton Sapkat, *sapkatl has a belly*; Delpha Zoe Topetchy, *topehci? after ... he ...*; Peggy Ann Keithtahroco, *kihtaruhku? one with hard flesh*; Rita Jane Wauahdooah, *wo'arua? wormy young one*; and Randlett Pahkekumah, *pahkikūma? edge of an old dry hide*, are names that could hardly stand translation. Due also to the new morality a few possessors of more outspoken Comanche names have altered them to convey a blander meaning and these nicer forms are used in addressing them. Connywerdy, originally, *ka?nawia? one with a slender penis*, was changed to *kahnawí'ri? tall and slender one*; Ahah, a woman of 70, whose name comes from *?a'h*, the baby word for feces or something nasty, and is pronounced

[p. 246-C]

SSI ?ahá?, is also called ?e'há-wi?, a meaningless word.

SSI White surnames liberally sprinkle the Comanche list, but wherever these are found there is usually some degree of White blood.

[162] In addition there are 243 persons listed as having Mexican or Mexican and White ancestry. As descendants of captives these persons have legal status as Comanche.

[641] Among the Mexican names represented are: Cerday, Carpio, Farralla, Gonzales, Luna, Martinez, Madrano, Portillo, Rivaz, Robbles, Senoya, Terasas (from the Comanche pronunciation of the Christian name Teresa, tirasas), Trevino, Viadurri, Vidana, and Villavana.

[563] A great many mixed-bloods carry the name of a forebear who has married into the tribe. Among these names are Smith, Jones, Brown, Glover, Cooper, Chandler, McCarthy, McArthur, Kelley, Le Barre, La Sawyer, Fisher, Dietrich, Risener, Shoemate, Chisholm, and Fawbush. Quanah Parker, the famous Comanche chief, was the daughter of a White captive, Cynthia Parker. Surprisingly few full-blooded Comanche, however, bear White surnames. The total number does not exceed 20, and they are all younger persons. Some of these names are: Pauline Smith, Perry Lonesome Heath, Roderick Youngman, Joseph Kelly, Darrell Bread, Frank David Bull, Bonnie Louise Plumlee, Pasquerita Pratt, Erwin Lee Cude, and Edith Marlene Johnson. In a few instances the surnames are those of second, White husbands. It must also be noted that several of these names, such as Youngman, Bread, or Bull, could also be English translations of Comanche names.

Mispronunciations and misunderstandings, working in both directions, have led to many curious entries on the tribal rolls. In many cases the agency spelling has obscured the meaning of the Comanche name, or at any rate, has made it ambiguous. White pronunciations have tended to become accepted by the Comanche themselves, especially the younger people, and this is still

SS1 another factor in making original pronunciations and meanings opaque. There are quite a few instances of the father's English given name being taken as the family name. Anna Harry, Dorothy Tommie, Rhoda Pauah (po'o?, from English, *Paul*), and Ned Timbo, from his father's given name, timo?, (from English, *Tim*, *Tom*, *Timothy* or the like) which was bestowed by a government agent, are examples. James Pedicks (from Felix), and Lilly Tomah sah, from Thomas or the Spanish, Tomas, or the Spanish feminine form, Tomasa, may be added.

A man of 60 is listed as Andrew Aunahro (Perdasofpy). Perdasofpy is an alternative family name after his father, pihirisohpe? *one who dips in something hairy*. The Aunahro is simply the Comanche pronunciation of *Andrew*, 'amaru?. Paul Pauau (Paul), 69, and Minnie Mahney, from Minnie, pronounced menf?, a woman of 53, also appear on the rolls; their first and second names are really one and the same. One man whose Comanche name was tuniwikitl *one who runs as hard as he can*, appears on the rolls as Tony Wocket. Hovaruthka, huvarihka? *coffee eater*, a man of 69, has the alternative name of Eli Coffee. Eli was said to have been derived from *eater*.

SS1
192 Several Comanche family names stem from Spanish loanwords: Komahcheet, kuhmahcf-to, from comanchito, the Spanish diminutive of Comanche; Kopaddy, kupá're?, from compadre, *Godfather or friend*; and Tabuano, tihá'no?, from tejano *Texan*. These, along with a goodly number of Spanish given names, represent a major contribution of Spanish to the Comanche language.

SS1
177 A new fashion in given first names may be observed since the custom was first introduced to the Comanche some 70 years ago. There is a distinct change from simple, single given names to rather elegant and fanciful double names. This shift has no doubt taken its cue from a similar change in the local White naming preferences, but the

SSI
177 writer has the impression, abetted by a checklist of the names of 335 Indian school children, that the change is more pronounced among the Indians than the Whites.

SSI The plainness of the names of older persons is attested by the following list of given names of 51 men 55 years old or over (figures in parentheses indicate plural occurrences): Andrew, Albert (3), Alexander, Baldwin, Ben, Bert, Casper, Charles, Codose or Crose (from Spanish, cruz cross), David, Edward, Eli, Emerson, Ernest, Eugene, Frank, Fred, George, George E., Grover, Gus, Herman, Howard, Jack, Jesse, John, Johnson, Joseph, Joshua, Mat, Millet, Nathan, Oscar, Otto, Paul, Reuben, Robert D., Rudolph, Samuel, Terrence, Thomas, Tim, Timbo (see above), Tom, Wahnee (from wane? fox), Walter, Willie, Wilson, and Mike.

The given names of 86 women of 45 or over are likewise old-fashioned and simple: Ada, Alice (3), Annie, Bertha, Bernice, Bessie, Betty, Birdie, Clou (see above), Cynthia, Daisy, Dorothy, Eliza, Ella (3), Elsie, Emily, Emma (2), Erma, Esther, Eva, Faith, Fern, Grace, Helen, Helen Rose, Ida, Ione, Jane, Josie, Julia, Kate, Kitty, Laura B., Lena, Lillie, Linn, Lucy (5), Lulu, Mabel, Maggie, Mamie, Mary (8), Mary Ellis, Mary P., Mattie, Maude, Minnie, Mollie, Nanny, Nellie, Nora (4), Ophelia, Pearl, Polly, Rachel, Rose (3), Roxie, Ruth, Sallie, Sarah (2), Susan, Susie, Thuma (Therma), and Woonardy.

The giving of two first names seems to have come into vogue within the past few decades. Only a small number of the many persons who have double given names are over 16 years old. If the middle name is written simply as an initial, the individual is usually over 17 years old. Except for the fact that such girls' names as Ann, Jean, Mae or May, and Joyce, and boys' names such as Lee, Allen, and Wayne occur more often as second middle names than first names, middle names are not very different

SSI from first names. Family names are taken as middle names in only a few instances. The bearers of these double names are often called by them both. This is especially true for girls having such hyphenated names as Anna Lee, Betty Mae, Barbara Ann, Carol May, Delores Ann, Ella Fay, Geneva Joe, Ida Lura, Linda Joy, Norma Lou, Phoebe Ann, and Sandra Jean.

Comanche given names show a great deal of individuation. For a total of 1989 Comanche with first names there are 1196 individual names (including double names), or a different name for each 1.66 Comanches. There are 587 names for 985 males, or a ratio of 1.68 persons per name; and 609 names for 1004 females, a ratio of 1.64. Of the total number of names there are 551 double names (259 male, 292 female). From these figures we see that the female names are slightly more individualized than those of the males, and judging from the greater number of double names, more elegant. One may adduce several possible explanations for this diversity of names. It may reflect the old Comanche pattern of a distinctive name for each person as well as the taboo on using the name of a dead person. Given names rather than family names may have been used to distinguish different persons, especially in the early reservation days, since family names were so hard for the Whites to cope with. Or it might simply be the result of a fashion of choosing names that are different and rather fancy.

The following first names, listed by the number of times they occur, are the ones most frequently bestowed on males: Frank 18, James 18, George 17, John 16, Samuel 16, Albert 14, Robert 13, Henry 12, William 12, Edward 11, Bert 8, Ralph 8, Charles 7, Kenneth 7, and Raymond 7. If middle names are included, the ranking is changed; some new names are added and others are dropped: James 29, Lee 25 (the commonest middle name, occurring 18 times), George 24, William 24, John 23, Frank 22, Edward 22, Robert 21, Albert 20, Henry 20, Charles

SS 16, Samuel 16, Kenneth 13, Wayne 11,
Raymond 10, Harold 9, and Bert 9.¹⁴⁸

For females the commonest single first names are: Mary 24, Alice 12, Marie 9, Lena, May and Rachel 8, Dorothy, Ida, Mabel and Velma 7, and Bertha, Beanie, Elsie, Lucy, Maude, Pearl and Sarah 6. If both first and second names are included, the order again is changed: Mary 39, Ann 35, Jean 34, Marie 31, May 19, Ruth 15, Alice 15, Dorothy 13, Joyce and Betty 12, Frances and Mae 11, Ida and Barbara 10, Rachel, Lena and Mabel 9, and Lee 8. As middle given names the following are the most frequent: Ann 34, Jean 32, Mae 11, May 10, Marie 19, Joyce 9, Lee and Ruth 8, Frances 7, Jo, Lou and Rose 6, Joy and Lois 5, and June, Kay and Fay 4. It may be noted that there is less variety in middle names than in first names.

Given names derived from Comanche are few in number. For males there are Gary *Mahesuh*, mahisua? *one who thinks of war*; Vernon Tabbytosavit (a middle family name), *tavetosaviti* *white sun*; Wahnee, wane? *fox*. Hovarithka, huvaribka? *coffee eater*; and Weckeah, wehki? *hunter*, are feminine examples. All told there are about

[113]
[171] ¹⁴⁸ Simon Newton (The World Almanac, 1921, p. 150) sought to determine the most popular American given names by examining 100,000 names in biographical dictionaries, Army and Navy registers, Masonic rosters, and the Detroit City Directory. For comparative purposes the 20 most popular names are listed:

- | | |
|-----------------|--------------------|
| 1. John 8280 | 11. Samuel 1628 |
| 2. William 7611 | 12. Frank 1570 |
| 3. James 4259 | 13. Harry 1112 |
| 4. Charles 4253 | 14. Richard 1027 |
| 5. George 4171 | 15. Francis 1003 |
| 6. Thomas 2710 | 16. Frederick 1000 |
| 7. Henry 2366 | 17. Walter 970 |
| 8. Robert 2303 | 18. David 967 |
| 9. Joseph 2266 | 19. Arthur 904 |
| 10. Edward 1997 | 20. Albert 862 |

For the Comanche the ten most popular single first names make 15% of the total, including double names 28%, while the ten most frequent American names make 42% of the total. It may also be noted that the order of preference differs.

[p. 249-A]

SSI twelve such names on the census rolls. The only Comanche with three given names is Jewel Ann Waumacconnie Wallace. The Comanche name comes from the given name of a woman of 80, wimako'ni? *one who chases someone back with a club.*

With the more prosaic names listed above, the following examples give a representative selection of Comanche given names:

Male first names: Adrian, Amos, Algernon, Archie Dean, Arron, Arvol, Augusta Norman.

Baby, Belindo, Bertrand Eugene, Bobbie Jewel, Bruner, Bucky, Bud, Buntin, Burnell.

Capps, Caudolario, Celso, Charles Malong, Clay, Cleatis, Cleveland, Clyde Berlyle, Cokey (Cookie), Conny Coffee.

Darrell, Delrio, Donell, Dumas, Dyson K. Elbus, Eldridge, Elgin, Elroe, Errol Kent, Eustace.

Fay, Ferrell, Forrest.

Galvus, Garrison, Given, Givens Rain, Guy Tucker.

Haddon, Hawk, Herschel, Hezekiah, Hoke Smith, Hollis, Honey, Horace, Hugh.

Ike, Inman C.

Jamison Redith, Jeriyah Dedodge, Jerome Chester, Jester, Joshua, Joubert, Joy, Joyce Lee.

Kelly Waddell, Kelton, Kent Orval, Kermit, Knox, Kye.

Lamont, La Rue, Laverne, Lemuel, Lewellyn, Lincoln, Linn, Lovell, Luepp, Lumer, Lupe Anderson, Luther, Lyon.

Madison Berkley, Major, Malcolm, Mark, Matthew, Max, McEvans, Mead, Meech, Menno, Merrill, Mikey, Moffett, Montgomery, Moran, Moses.

Napoleon, Nealer, Nickolas.

Oliver Hinson, Oscar.

Pernell, Pierson Page.

Rafey, Randlett Cragg, Reaves, Reuben, Riley, Roe, Roderick Parriah.

Schley, Scott Ferria, Silcott, Stacy Lee, Stanford Walker, Strudwick, Sunrise.

Tennyson Berry, Terrance, Thurman Ray.

Vandal, Vidale, Videll, Voris.

SSI Weldon, Wellington, White, Whitt, Willerton, Woodrow Joyce.

Women's names offer the following:
Aldeen, Alverta, Angelia, Ardena Mae,
Anona A., Ardis, Arrillia Mae, Avis Nadine,
Beattie, Belva Ann, Benal Lou, Berdenis,
Blossom.

Caleda, Camille, Carla Dorena, Charlene,
Chequita Ann, Cicily, Claudettia, Cleta
Ruth, Cody, Colleen, Corrine.

Darling Virginia, Delpha Zoe, Dixie Dean,
Dorcas, Dorphus.

Easter, Eilena Floy, Electa Mary, Eloise
Lavena, Elva Jean, Emmet Ruth, Ethel
Yvonne, Etheline, Eudora, Eula, Exie,
Eyeta.

Fanchon Willene, Floy Juanita, Francella
Ann.

Garnett, Geniece, Goldie, Greta, Gwendolyn.

Happy, Hazel, Hester, Hilda, Hope
Maurine, Hulda.

Imogene, Ioleta, Iris Dawn, Isa, Ivarine.
Jacqueline Violet, Joebnya, Joeleen Frances,
Johnson Louise, Judea, Jueretta.
Kathleen.

La Denna Vita, Ladora Fay, Lahoma,
La Nell, Lavona, Leilani, Lottsee, Lucreta,
Luetta.

Mada Louise, Margerine, Marylyne May,
Melva Joe, Metzie Madeline, Mona.

Nada, Nemah, Neomi Lorene, Normal
Jean.

Oma Jean, Oneda, Opal Pearl, Opaletta,
Onie.

Pasquenta, Patsy Mozelle, Pauline Zella,
Phoebe Ann.

Quanah Kay.

Reba Joe, Rechandle, Richenda Jean,
Reona, Ruby Fern, Ruth Odella.

Sharon Rose, Sophia.

Theodosia, Theone Maxine.

Vellarine, Venee Lois, Verbena, Verneta
Ruth, Veronica, Vida, Vinita.

Wanada, Werta Jean, White Rose, Wilhelmia Jean, Willene, Winona, Wynema,
Wywena May.

Yvonne, Zelma, Zenia Mae, Zona.

SSI There are several Comanche who are named after illustrious people: Garner Roosevelt Atetewuthtake, Kit Carson Farwell, Charles Lindbergh Ticeahkie, Calvin Coolidge Pohapatchako, Franklin D. Parker, General Scott Tonemah (General Scott was stationed at Fort Sill, Oklahoma for many years), and Bennie Leonard Caddo (Bennie Leonard was a champion prizefighter). Three persons have the name Quanah, kwana? *odor*, which was the first name of the Comanche chief and warrior, Quanah Parker.

White given names, as has been suggested above, suffer some phonetic distortion when pronounced by Comanche with little or no knowledge of English. These mispronunciations quite frequently become generally accepted. The following are examples: nere? *Nelly*; miru? *Myrtle*; men? *Minnie*; maikl *Mike*; to me? *Tommy*; 'ombre? *Audrey*; pesa? *Bessie*; and 'esti? *Ester*.

The given names of persons having Mexican blood or a mixture of White and Mexican ancestry include the following names derived from Spanish: Anacleto, Antonio, Boniface, Caudolario, Cicario, Cruz, Felipe, Gilberto, Hepardo, Jesus, Lorenzo, Louis, Migel, Ricardo, Sostenes, Sotaro, Tomaso, all masculine names. Feminine names include the following: Carlotta, Carmen, Christabelle, Clemencia, Delores, Devita, Florentina, Guadalupe, Herlinda, Isabelle, Juanita, Juana, Kalora, Lorenza, Marie, Octaviana, Refugia, Rosetta, and Speranze.

There is apparently a recent tendency for persons of Mexican-Comanche ancestry to give their children American names instead of Spanish ones and most of these names are quite indistinguishable from the others on the rolls. The following are names of males who are listed as having Mexican blood: Adrid John, Archibald, Ben, Clarence, Donovan Earl, Eribert, Franklin D., Hillarie, J. P.,¹⁰ Leon, Michael, Nabor, Peairs

¹⁰ The practice of giving only initials for a

SSI (Pierce?), Shannon B., Simon, Woodrow
Wilson, Wyvale. Feminine names offer the
following: Audrea, Balinda Mary, Cleo
Marcelle, Dixie Diane, Ernestine Marie,
Freddie Joe, Garnet, Hattie, Laurantis Peral,
Leila Viletta, Luvenia Yvonne, Mandy
Louise, Marilyn Panzie, Marrel F., Mollie,
Sybil, Nettie Belle, Philomena Marian,
Prudence, Ruby, Sharon Vivonne, Sonia
Youmaine, Tinnie, Udee, Una, Winona and
Zelia.

SSI Thus, we have traced the acculturation
177 of one aspect of Comanche culture, personal
names, from the old pattern described above
to the whole-hearted adoption of the local
SSI Southern White naming patterns. There is
178 little left of the old, except perhaps in the
great individuation of given names. The
actual circumstances of the giving of first
names may show a few faint traces of the
old customs, but even that is doubtful. The
SSI degree of acceptance of the new naming
177 practices may be taken as a rough index of
the participation of the Comanche in the
culture of the Whites. The older, relatively
SSI less acculturated Comanche still bear in-
177 dividual names, while the younger genera-
178 tions have adopted the White pattern to
the extent that the old way has entirely
yielded place to the new.

128 7.0. Thus far the major portion of this
paper has been devoted to the first of two
objectives—a description of the effects of
culture contact on the Comanche language,
chiefly the lexicon. The balance of the paper
will be addressed to the second objective,
namely, an attempt to demonstrate the
utility of these linguistic data for the student
of acculturation and culture change. Some
general observations based on an appraisal
of the total acculturation vocabulary will
first be given. There will then follow a set of
postulates on language with special refer-
ence to culture change and a series of propo-

given name is not infrequent in Oklahoma, but
this is the only case for the Comanche.

128 sitions designed to relate specific linguistic data to the social, cultural, and historical facts of which they are diagnostic.

177 7.1. On examination of the Comanche
 197 occulturation vocabulary as a whole it is
 197 quite evident that the preponderance of new
 177 terms are those for material aspects of White
 culture. While it cannot be assumed that
 Comanche knowledge of White culture is
 restricted to those traits for which the lan-
 guage provides unitary terms, this fact be-
 speaks greater familiarity with the tangibles
 of Western culture than with non-material
 121 traits. Nor is this surprising, as the things of
 daily use tend to be the first part of one
 culture to be both presented to and ac-
 cepted by another culture. Moreover, mate-
 rial culture does not necessarily require a
 spoken introduction to a borrowing people.
 Non-material or intellectual culture, on the
 other hand, is essentially transmitted
 through the medium of language, and such
 knowledge, unless it is sheer mimicry, must
 necessarily be translated from one language
 into another through the good offices of one,
 a few, or many bilingual speakers. It is
 probably unrealistic to expect that any
 significant corpus of alien intellectual cul-
 ture, especially that of an esoteric nature,
 will be incorporated into a borrowing cul-
 ture or accommodated by its language unless
 it is espoused by some special class of per-
 sons such as scholars, priests, rulers, or
 artisans who occupy positions of some
 554 prestige or power. Status groups such as
 191 these were non-existent in Comanche cul-
 177 ture, and it is significant that those Coman-
 che most conversant with Western intel-
 lectual culture also know English best and
 use English in discussing these aspects of
 Western culture.

192 The words added to the vocabulary are
 197 almost entirely nominal forms. Adjectives,
 177 adverbs, and verbs, except as these may be
 derived from nominal forms, are conspicu-
 ously absent and words for abstract con-
 cepts such as science, government, machine,
 etc., are rare. The religious terminology

192 where one might expect to find the greatest
197 proliferation of abstract terms is likewise
197 relatively barren. It reflects a religious
fundamentalism preached by parable and
illustration. Ideas like resurrection, apostasy,
holiness, salvation, and penitence are trans-
lated, if at all, by clumsy descriptive phrases
or sentences.

[231]
[525] Several segments of White culture have
received some linguistic elaboration. There
are words for fourteen or so breeds of dogs,
and the vocabulary of terms for card play-
ing and gambling is fairly rich. Both of these
flairs can perhaps be explained in terms of
interests already present in the culture.
Linton mentions the great preoccupation
of the Comanche with the dog,¹⁵⁰ and Stew-
ard notes the Shoshone predilection for
gambling, common throughout North Amer-
ica, and which was shared by the Coman-
che.¹⁵¹ There are a great many words for
various diseases and many of these such as
the word for diabetes, called *sugar sickness*,
evinced a good deal of sophistication. Indeed,
164 the diseases the Whites brought and the
havoc they wrought could hardly have es-
caped attention. As one informant said,
"Before the Whites came there was nothing
but toothache". Mooney mentions smallpox
epidemics in 1816 and 1861-62. Cholera was
rampant in 1849 and in 1882 measles and
whooping cough broke out. Measles again
743 reached epidemic proportions in 1892.¹⁵² At
the present time a well-equipped and staffed
hospital is available and, in line with the
general government health program, some
knowledge of medicine is available to the
Comanche.

177 The list of terms omitted from the ac-
192 culturation vocabulary is perhaps as in-

197 ¹⁵⁰ Ralph Linton, *The Study of Man*, pp. 428-29
[113] (Appleton-Century, New York; 1936).

¹⁵¹ Julian H. Steward, *Culture Element Dis-
tributions: XIII, Nevada Shoshone*, Anthro-
pological Records, 4: 2, p. 247 (University of
California, 1941).

¹⁵² James Mooney, *Calendar History of the
Kiowa Indians*, 17th Annual Report, BAE (Wash-
ington, D. C.; 1898).

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 structure as those included in it. The fact that a trait of Western culture is not named does not necessarily mean that it is unknown to the Comanche, or that it cannot be described by them. But it does seem to indicate that it is not generally known or widely accepted. Thus, the very fact that a new trait is named is a good index of its general acceptance. One is tempted to hypothesize that the new words which are linguistically most economical or conform closest to Comanche language habits are those for the traits most completely integrated into Comanche culture.

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 The scarcity of technical, scientific, or scholarly terms from the list of new words has already been commented upon and it is pointless to note those omitted. However, there follows below a selected list of familiar traits of Western culture which are not specifically named by the Comanche although they may be designated by more general terms (e.g., pekwinarohitman *canned fish*, may refer to *salmon*, *sardines* or *tuna*; and *lettuce* or *asparagus* are included in the general word for *vegetable*, pokorihkap[*fruit food*): advertisement, asbestos, asparagus, blow-torch, bluing, bomb, borax, canary, cellophane, chick-peas, cider, cockroach, dictionary, dill, egg-plant, elevator, fountain, hinge, hobo, hops, insurance, lettuce, lightning-rod, lilly, lobster, magnet, menu, monument, organ, padlock, pickle, pretzel, pulley, refrigerator, rainspout, rose, screw, shrimp, skis, slot machine, sponge, sprinkler, starch, thermometer, tulip, vinegar, wax, whale, wine, zipper.

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 Finally, we may say that while Comanche contact with White culture had had far-reaching effects, the Comanche language has preserved its essential form. Comanche has reacted by adapting itself to new cultural experience by using its own linguistic resources rather than by extensive borrowing from an alien tongue. Indeed, there is evidence that relatively few loanwords from English, which today is the dominant com-

197 peting language, were added prior to the
192 turn of the last century.

128 7.2. In the interest of conciseness the
numbered statements which follow are
phrased as a series of postulates, a device
suggested to the writer by one of Bloom-
field's papers.¹¹³ Some of these postulates
attempt to make explicit certain assumptions
about language which are basic to this paper,
while others state general observations on
linguistic change, especially those changes
induced by culture contact.

121 1. Language is a part of culture and, in its
semantic aspects, symbolic of culture.

2. Change is a normal linguistic process
which is not autonomous but attributable to
psychological, social and cultural causes.¹¹⁴

3. The rate of linguistic change is variable
and may be affected by both linguistic and
extra-linguistic factors. Among the latter,
some of which may also operate in initiating
change, are the size of the speech community;
types and extent of use of mass communi-
cation media; literacy; relative prestige of
competing languages or dialects; degree of
bilingualism or multilingualism; type, in-
tensity and duration of cross-cultural con-
tacts.¹¹⁵

4. Linguistic change is a part of total cul-
ture change, although these changes are not
necessarily coextensive or parallel.

5. Because language is, in part, symbolic
of culture, linguistic changes may reveal
of culture changes whether the latter stem from
culturally internal or culturally external
sources.

6. Culture contact may induce changes
in both the formal and semantic aspects of
language.

7. Formal changes may arise: externally,
due to the direct influence of a foreign

[113] ¹¹³ Leonard Bloomfield, *A Set of Postulates for
the Science of Language*, Lg 2: 153-64 (1926).

¹¹⁴ Harry Hoijer, *Linguistic and Cultural
Change*, Lg. 24: 335-45 (1948).

¹¹⁵ Uriel Weinreich discusses both linguistic
and extra-linguistic factors in language change
in his book, *Languages in Contact: Findings and
Problems* (New York, 1953).

[2] language through linguistic borrowing or indirectly through modifications in the native language introduced by bilingual speakers; internally, due to extensions of meaning, additions to the vocabulary, or other linguistic adjustments which may in turn initiate a whole series of compensatory phonetic or grammatical shifts following new analogy patterns.¹⁵⁶

8. Semantic changes are accomplished by extending or modifying meaning or by adding to the vocabulary.

9. Vocabulary is increased by: coining new words; incorporating loanwords; translation-borrowing.¹⁵⁷

10. No knowledge of the language of an impinging culture is required for meaning extensions or new coinages and only native linguistic materials are used. This is designated PRIMARY ACCOMMODATION. A minimum knowledge of a donor language is necessary for linguistic borrowing in the form of either loanwords or loan-translations. Such linguistic borrowing is termed SECONDARY ACCOMMODATION.

11. The extent to which any given language uses primary or secondary linguistic accommodation, and the several devices subsumed under these terms, in handling new cultural acquisitions depends upon both social, cultural and historical factors and upon the structural characteristics of the language.

7.3. The twenty numbered propositions which comprise the final section of this paper should be viewed as essentially hypotheses rather than conclusions. While some have face validity and others are sup-

[113] ¹⁵⁶ Ways in which linguistic changes may be effected are discussed by Joseph H. Greenberg, Charles E. Osgood, and Sol Saporta in their section on Language Change in *Psycholinguistics*, Charles E. Osgood and Thomas E. Sebeok, Editors, Memoir 10 of IJAL (1954).

[113] ¹⁵⁷ While these three devices appear to the writer to constitute the principal ways of adding to the vocabulary, they may of course be broken down into various sub-types. See, for example, Einar Haugen, *The Analysis of Linguistic Borrowing*, Lg 26:210-31 (1950).

121 | ported by Comanche data, many require
further substantiation before they can be
accepted. Although the propositions are in
the main derived from and illustrated by
Comanche material, they are cast in gen-
eralized terms in the belief that they are
relevant to other languages as well. Related
propositions are grouped together, but they
are not otherwise classified.

1. The total acculturation vocabulary
will indicate the range of contact, the aspects
of culture most affected by acculturation,
and provides a sort of catalogue of traits
which have been accepted by the recipient
culture.

2. The presence of a single word (or sev-
eral synonymous forms) in common usage
in a language indicates that the trait de-
noted has been relatively widely accepted
by the borrowing culture. Conversely, if a
new trait is not so named, it presumably
has not been widely accepted.

3. If an unanalyzable stem has been ex-
tended in meaning, it may be assumed that
an analogue of the new trait existed in the
native culture. Thus, the extension of coMO
192 | which now refers to *modern beads of various*
197 | *materials*, and wihl to *steel knife* indicates
that functionally similar objects were found
in aboriginal Comanche culture. Ethnograph-
ic notes tell us that the prototypes of these
new products were bone beads and the
flint knife. In some instances the original
referent may be obsolete or obsolescent;
e.g., wonA, formerly *parfleche*, now *box*,
pocket, container.

121 | 4. Conversely, if a new trait is not desig-
nated by a simple extension of meaning,
one may assume that no close analogue
was to be found in the native culture. Thus,
192 | the descriptive word for boat, pawovivukU
197 | *water board horse*, indicates the absence of
121 | *watercraft* in aboriginal Comanche culture.
This word for boat also suggests the great
importance of the horse as a means of trans-
portation.

5. Since meaning extension depends upon
the formal, functional or symbolic equation

- 121 of the old and the new, such extensions often
 192 afford clues not only as to how new traits
 197 are perceived, but also to the way in which
 they are integrated into the culture. The
 extension in Comanche of *puba supernatural*
power to the spheres of both medicine and
 religion is an example (see 4.1).
- 121 6. When a meaning has been extended,
 if a modifier is used to distinguish between
 what is native and old and what is foreign
 and new, the relative importance of the
 two traits may be indicated by the differ-
 ential use of these modifiers (see 4.1).
- [194] 7. A rare distribution of a phoneme or
 [192] a deviant cluster of phonemes in a word
 suggests that the word has been borrowed;
 e.g. kv and ks in *sikviç six bits* and *taks tax*,
taxes. The initial ts in *teetsee fly* is an
 example from English.
- [192] 8. A polysyllabic word of more than the
 usual minimum length which is unanalyz-
 able into smaller meaningful elements is
 apt to be borrowed.¹⁰⁰ *tomá-ta?* *tomato*
 (tomato, Span.); *makaró-ni?* *macaroni*
 (Eng.). In both of these examples, additional
 evidence of their foreign origin is afforded
 by the fact that the stress does not fall on
 the first syllable (see 3.2).
9. In general, the more closely a borrowed
 word is assimilated to the phonetics of the
 borrowing language, the older it is and the
 earlier the trait it denotes has been intro-
 duced into the culture.
- 121 10. The longer a loanword has been in a
 192 language the greater the tendency for it to
 197 acquire a wider range of meaning or to be
 used metaphorically or in figurative expres-
 sions; e.g., *mura?* *mule* (Span., *mula*) in
?evimú-ra?ya?ke? *frog*, literally *green mule*
crier.
- 121 11. The linguistic source of a loanword
 177 will suggest the provenience of a new cul-
 192 tural acquisition; e.g., the Comanche were

¹⁰⁰ Edward Sapir, *Time Perspective in Aborig-
 inal American Culture, A Study in Method*,
 Memoir 90, Canada Dept. of Mines (Ottawa,
 Canada; 1916) p. 60, discusses this point in some
 detail.

121 introduced to the mule, bread, sandals and
177 vests by the Spanish; to money and admin-
192 istrative offices by the Americans.

121 12. The areas of culture represented by
loanwords may indicate differential effects
of several impinging cultures (see 4.3).

13. The number of loanwords in a lan-
guage, while no absolute index, may indi-
cate the extent or amount of contact one
culture has had with another (see 4.3).

14. Other things being equal, the greater
the proportion of loanwords and loan-
translations in a language, as opposed to
meaning extensions and new coinages, the
more intense, intimate or lasting the culture
contact has been.

15. Since loan-translation requires the
borrowing of a foreign mode of thought,
description or expression, rather than the
incorporation of a foreign word, it reflects a
more subtle influence than the borrowing of
loanwords. The use of loan-translations in
any number may be indicative of a deeper
and more thorough-going acculturation
(see also proposition 18).

121 16. When the analysis of what is appar-
192 ently a descriptive word is obscure there is a
197 strong likelihood that it is an older word:
piésu'vé? *bandana*, and *pimoró?* *cattle*. In
these two examples there is, of course, also
the possibility that meaning extension and
borrowing respectively have occurred.

121 17. If phonetic or grammatical reduction
192 occurs in a descriptive word, or phonetic
194 reduction in a loanword, it is apt to be of
197 relatively early origin: *?eksaahpana?* *soldier*;
in this word *?eka-red*, has been reduced to
?ek-. In *tehnas?*, from English *ten cents*,
phonetic reduction has also occurred.

121 18. The elements used in new descriptive
192 formations will often indicate the approxi-
177 mate date or period of introduction of a
new trait. The Comanche word for *soldier*,
?eksaahpana? *red belly*, describes a type of
uniform no longer used; the words for
Democrat and *Republican* refer to party
symbols, the rooster and the eagle, of an
earlier era. One could also include here the

121 descriptive terms for introduced articles,
 177 such as the *beaver hat*, *cauldron*, or types of
 192 blankets, which are no longer in general use,
 although the names for them are retained
 in the vocabulary.

121 Modes of perception as these may be dic-
 tated by language and may also be revealed
 in new descriptive words.¹⁵⁹ The Comanche
 121 characteristically describe many new traits,
 192 particularly implements and machines, in
 dynamic, functional terms rather than
 static ones of color, size and shape. One is
 121 tempted to speculate whether this may be
 181 correlated with Comanche personality as
 described by Kardiner who comments upon,
 "the emphasis on activity itself",¹⁶⁰ and
 notes their capacity to deal skillfully, as-
 sertively and self-confidently with the world.

121 Attitudes toward new traits, and tempera-
 mental or other psychological characteristics
 may also be reflected. The words for *whiskey*
 192 and *prostitute* both use the word, *po'sa*,
 which, while translated *crazy*, connotes
 generally deviant behavior.^{161a} From the
 contexts in which it appears, *'esi-*, literally
grey, also has broader connotations of being
 nondescript, drab, or unseemly. It is sig-
 nificantly used in the word for captive,
'esini'ml (*ní-mí person*).

The word for White man, *taivo'?*, is
 used in the sense of *alien* to apply also to
 the products of white culture and to other
 races of men. The use of *ca- fine* or *good*
 in describing silk and gems indicates that
 these things are highly valued. The word
 for *rice* (*worm* or *maggot food*), may reveal a

[113] ¹⁵⁹ See Benjamin L. Whorf, Four Articles on
 Metalinguistics, Foreign Service Institute, Dept.
 of State, (Washington, D. C.; 1950); also D. D.
 Lee, A Primitive System of Values, Philosophy of
 Science 7: 355-365 (1940) and The Linguistic
 Aspects of Wintu' Acculturation, AA 45: 435-440,
 especially, pp. 437-39, (1943).

[113] ¹⁶⁰ Abram Kardiner, The Psychological Fron-
 tiers of Society, p. 64, (Columbia University
 Press; New York, 1945).

[113] ^{161a} The Blackfoot word for *crazy* is similarly
 employed. See L. M. Hawks, Jr., A Psychological
 Exploration in the Blackfoot Language, IJAL
 20:195-205 (1964).

192 distaste for the food when first encountered.

[83] —or it may simply memorialise a matter-of-fact observation that boiled rice does indeed resemble maggots. The vulgar words for *cheese* (5), the word for *condom* (*rubber foreskin*), *gonorrhea* and others reflect the absence of prudery in sexual matters.

121 19. Where new vocabulary has clustered one may look for cultural interests or flairs which may either have pre-existed in the culture or have been acquired (see 7.1), but in the latter instance revealing aspects of the donor culture which have been most eagerly seized upon, most salient, or as in the case of diseases among the Comanche, indicating conditions peculiar to the time of contact.

20. The core of unanalyzable words, especially nominal stems, in a language usually denote traits that are of considerable antiquity in a culture.¹¹ Compounds which embody these core words would therefore necessarily refer to traits subsequently introduced. The caveat that meanings do

¹¹ See also Edward Sapir, *Time Perspective in Aboriginal American Culture, A Study in Method*, Memoir 90, Canada Dept. of Mines, pp. 54-5 (Ottawa, Canada; 1916).

[p. 256-A]

121 The caveat that meanings do
825 change must be borne in mind, but by applying this principle one observes that Comanche has a great many unanalyzable stems for animals whose range includes, or in some cases is confined to,¹²² a more northerly habitat, while the names of most animals indigenous to the Southwest are analyzable compounds, e.g., *ʔevikuydi:siʔ* road-runner (*green quail*); *puhitó:ʔ* turkey (*grazes in the grass*); see also the words for opossum (5). On the basis of such evidence one could postulate that the Comanche had moved into the Southwest from a more northerly location.¹²³

121 The writer hopes the point has been made
174 that an ethnolinguistic approach not only provides useful leads and insights into society and culture, but adds a new dimension to the study of acculturation as well.

¹²² For example, *tuhkU* moose. Albert Gallatin, *A Synopsis of the Indian Tribes North of Mexico*, Trans. & Coll. of the Amer. Antiquarian Society, Vol. II, (Cambridge, Massachusetts; 1836), notes a Comanche word, *augi*, for *salmon*, a word that was obsolete in 1940.

[113] ¹²³ Edward Sapir, *Internal Linguistic Evidence Suggestive of the Northern Origin of the Navaho*, AA 38: 224-235 (1936), brilliantly marshalls linguistic evidence which suggests an earlier northern location for the Navaho:

[p. 256-B]

11: Casagrande

N06 Comanche N06

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[For further information on words and meaning, see Category 192.]